



REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

GEN

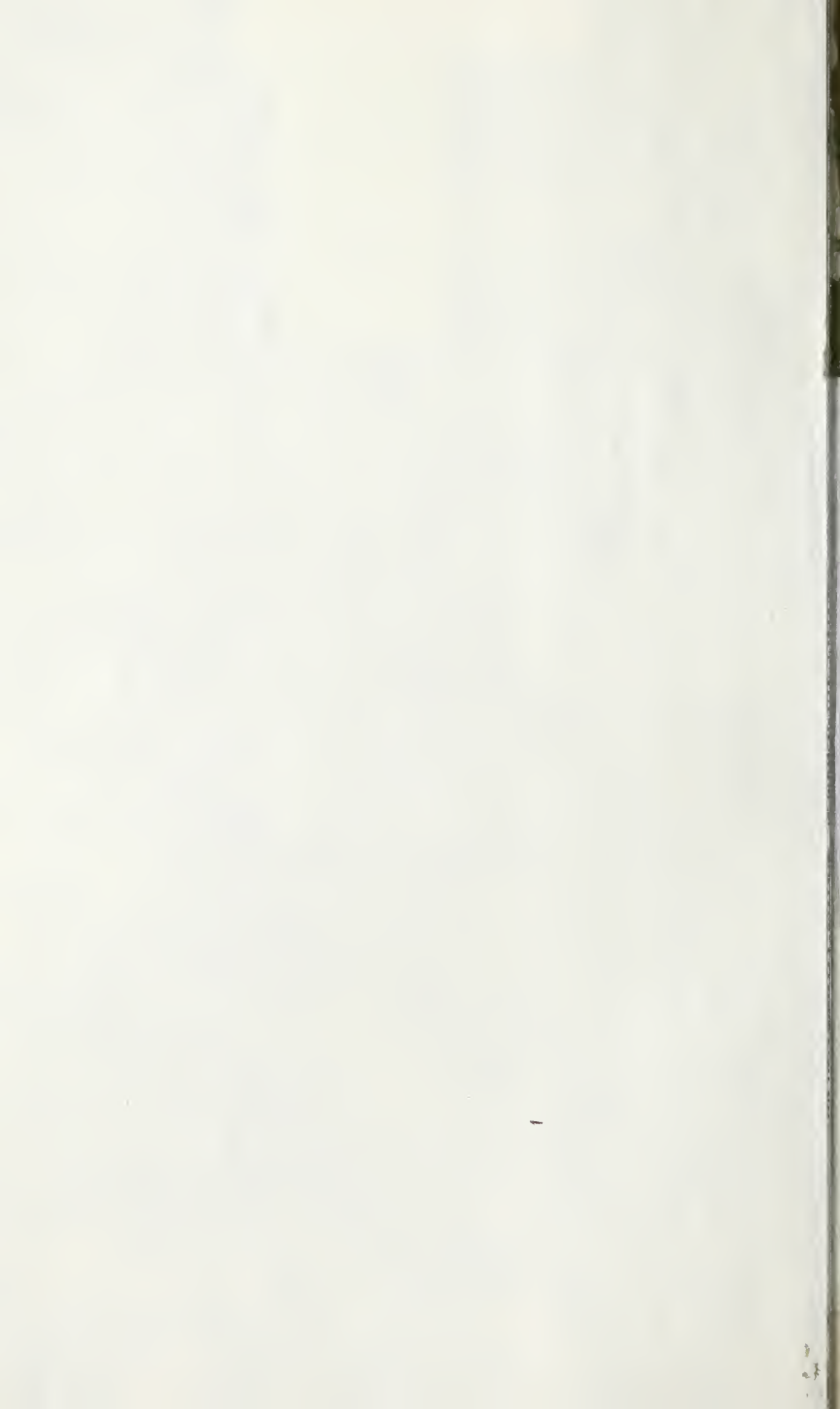
ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 01254 2327

GENEALOGY
942.006
C76T
V.6

✓



Price to Non-Members, 2/- net. Postage extra.

Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

Vol. VI, No. 1]

[FEBRUARY, 1913

Contents

Editorial	1
William White: An Elizabethan Puritan - -	4
A. Peel, M.A., B.Litt.	
Early Nonconformist Academies - - -	20
Congregationalists and the "Great Ejection":	
Particulars of Congregationalist Ministers ejected	
in 1660 and 1662 - - - - -	25
G. Lyon Turner, M.A.	
Note on Penry's Last Years - - -	50
T. Gasquoine, B.A.	
Statistics of the Church of England, A.D. 1603 -	54
White's "Century" = - - = - -	57
Old Gravel Lane Meeting = - - - - -	69

May be obtained direct from the Book Saloon, Congregational Union of
England and Wales, Inc., Memorial Hall, London, E.C.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
PRESS

X744637

DATE MICROFILMED	
6 Aug 1990	
ITEM #	1
PROJECT and	G. S.
ROLL #	CALL #
XLIB8-102	1696483
#578	

Editorial

OUR Autumnal Meeting was held at Manchester on 16th October. The attendance was fairly numerous. Papers were read by Prof. G. L. Turner, M.A., and A. Peel Esq., M.A., B.Litt., both of which will be found in the present issue.

* *

Our Annual Meeting will be held at the Memorial Hall on Wednesday, 7th May, at *three* o'clock (not four, as on previous occasions). A numerous attendance is desired, as proposals will be made for the revision of our Constitution, and for some change in our arrangements as to publications.

* *

The document mentioned in our last issue, as brought to light by Dr. Longstaff, proves to be of greater importance than was at first perceived. It was found among the records of the old English Presbyterian Fund ; and we are glad to announce that the trustees of the Fund are about to publish it *in extenso*, under the able editorship of Prof. A. Gordon. It will be carefully annotated, and will throw much light on the state of the Dissenting Interest in the years which immediately followed the Toleration Act.

* *

Mr. Champlin Burrage has just published the Original Records of Penry's Trial, with some related documents. Everything that can throw fresh light on the character and motives of the old Puritan and Separatist worthies is valuable, even though it may serve more completely to explode popular but mistaken beliefs. That Penry died as a martyr for Congregational principles, or for Freedom of Conscience, has long been known by all serious students to be a popular fallacy, but this in no wise detracts from his moral greatness. His capital crime, and that of his fellowsufferers, was that they dared contest the infallibility and impeccability of the ruling powers in Church and State. This Penry did, in language

characteristic of a prophet rather than a courtier, and thus rendered himself amenable to then existing laws. Accordingly, as Mr. Burrage clearly shews, his condemnation was strictly legal—as much so as the burning of Anne Askew or the stoning of Stephen. To such men, who felt that they had a message from God for which they willingly laid down their lives, we owe the possibility of the Puritan Revolution and the national freedom of which it was the spring.

* *

The death of Professor E. Arber, F.S.A., as the result of a street accident on 23rd November, is nothing short of a calamity to the interest of historical literature. Dr. Arber's name first became familiar to the public in 1868, when he commenced with Milton's *Areopagitica* a cheap series of notable books in facsimile reprints of early editions. Since then his pen has rarely been idle; and his *English Scholars' Library*, *English Garner*, and Poetical Anthologies have been an incalculable boon to students of limited means. To Congregationalists his most interesting productions are his *Introductory Sketch of the Marprelate Controversy*, and his *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*. At the time of his death he was engaged in preparing a new and much enlarged edition of the last named work; but we understand it is not sufficiently advanced to afford much hope of its publication. Dr. Arber was a Puritan by conviction, and a Congregationalist by preference; and unless we are misinformed was a member of Offord Road church during the pastorate of the Rev. E. Paxton Hood.

* *

The question is sometimes asked: "What manner of men were they who succeeded the ejected ministers?" In the case of those who were removed by the legislation of 1670—of whom there were at least 422 and possibly as many as 550—the successors were with few exceptions those who had been sequestered by the Long Parliament or the Commonwealth authorities and were now reinstated. Among these were men of almost every conceivable degree of goodness and badness; character counted for nothing if only the title was valid. Of the rest, we may learn something from an anonymous quarto of 56 pp., published in 1663, entitled *Ichabod, or Five Groans of the Church*. The writer was evidently an orthodox High Churchman, believing in the Apostolic Succession of the Priesthood and the Divine Right of Tithes, and hostile to Puritanism in every shape. Yet the aspect and prospects of the Restoration Church filled him with distress and alarm.

* *

He apprehended that five things would "insensiblie undermine" the fabric of the Church, viz., Undue Ordination, Unconscionable Simony, Careless Nonresidence, Loose Profaneness, and Encroaching Pluralities. No Church reformer could more vigorously denounce the traffic in benefices, and the "quibbles whereby the oath against simony was (and still is) constantly evaded; the scandal of pluralities, by reason of which, he says, 2717 parishes had nonresident incumbents, and the turning to private profit of income from more than 3,000 impropriate benefices. But he seems equally displeas'd that "1342 factious ministers had been lately ordained"—evidently such as had retained their benefices or curacies by submitting to the Act of Uniformity and accepting prelatie ordination. Amongst these, we must suppose, are to be counted "426 Tradesmen who, having in former years intruded into the sacred calling of a minister, are now ordained to it," of whom he insinuates that they were ignorant and incapable men. But few if any of these would replace the 1,820 or more who were ejected on Bartholomew's Day. For their successors we must look among the "Young Ministers, of whom I have a call of above 3,000"; concerning whom the writer says: "Every one that will is made a priest, that he may have bread to eat"; so that "those pulpits that were filled with ancient fathers are now desks for young children," from whom men "hear pedantic harangues and juvenile orations with scorn and laughter." It is to be hoped that these 3,000 are not additional to those whom the writer counts up "of Debauched Men ordained, 1,500"; respecting whom he supposes the Church to ask: "Am I a refuge for all licentiousness? Whom a strict College expels, whom the severe University discountenanceth, whom civil men note with a mark of hatred and abhorrence, must I admit to my Sacred Order?" These, it must be repeated, are not the statements of a sour-faced Puritan or a captious Nonconformist, but of a serious and uncompromising High Churchman.

* * *

His representation finds some support from an anonymous treatise, ascribed to Dr. John Eachard, which appeared in 1670 under the title: *The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion Enquired into*. This writer alleges that it had become usual to ordain men of little education, and with the slenderest abilities for preaching; and complains of "people posting into Orders before they know their message or business—never considering how they shall live, or what good they are likely to do in their office."

William White: an Elizabethan Puritan

IN these days when the minds of all Nonconformists are directed to 1662 and its heroes, it requires considerable boldness to invite your attention to matters concerned with our history in the previous century. For more than five years now, one has been continually troubled by the ghost of William White, a Puritan of Queen Elizabeth's time, and now one gives him a little of the publicity he deserves, in the hope that henceforth he may either rest in peace or win a complete resurrection.

Who was William White, then, and what do we know about him? As yet not much; but still perhaps sufficient to claim him as a Puritan stalwart: one who by pen and tongue fought and suffered for what he believed to be the right. The aim of this short paper is to state such facts as have come to light, facts which demand that White should have a place amongst the foremost controversialists of his time. Gilby and Cartwright, Field and Wilcox, Fenner and Wigginton, Browne and Barrowe—yes, all these, and the mysterious Martin too!—but as good as most and cleverer than some is William White.

Previously, all that had been known of our subject had come to us from scanty references in Neal¹ and Brook,² and from the examination of the leaders of the Plumbers' Hall congregation in 1567, reprinted in the "Remains"³ of Archbishop Grindal from "A parte of a register."⁴

¹ History of the Puritans (Ed. 1822) I. 197-203; 256-8n.

² Lives of the Puritans (Ed. 1813) I. 133-148.

³ pp. 201-216.

⁴ See below.

These, with one or two occurrences of White's name in lists of Separatists, have been our only sources of information, but now we can go behind all these to the manuscripts which Neal and Brook used: the "Seconde Parte of a Register" among the Morrice MSS., in Dr. Williams's Library, London.

A word as to these manuscripts first, before we put together their information concerning White.

The strict censorship of the press established after the publication of the *Admonition to the Parliament* in 1572, and more seriously enforced after the flood of Puritan literature in the years 1583-6, made it increasingly difficult for the Puritans to place their cause before the country. Foiled in Convocation, in the Prophesyings, and finally in Parliament, the supporters of a "true reformation" had only the Press and personal influence to fall back upon for the dissemination of their views; and that secret printing was not altogether impossible, Martin Marprelate and his lusty sons had well shewn. The Puritans therefore—and by these one may suppose the Puritan ministers gathered together in the "classes"—seemed to have determined to put before the country their apologia; and to this end treatises on Church government, confessions of faith, surveys of the clergy, supplications to Queen, Council, Parliament and Convocation, accounts of the examination of ministers before the High Commission and the bishops, and similar items were gathered together. The result may be seen from Bancroft⁵:

"They (our reformers in England) have renewed over again and applied to our Church Governors, Two or Three of the most bitter Treatises, that ever were made against the Popes, Cardinals, Popish Bishops, Monks, and Fryers, etc., in King

⁵ Bancroft, *Dangerous Positions* (1593) Bk. II. C. 3.

Henry the VIII.'s Days. They have Four or Five very devilish and infamous Dialogues: Likewise their Complaints and Petitions to her Majesty and Parliament, in the name of the Commonalty, their Appellation, their Exhortation, and divers other most lewd and scurrilous Epistles and Letters.

"When they are called before any Magistrate, and dealt withal for their factious Proceedings they usually afterward do take upon them to Write and Publish, under the Name of a Conference, what words and Arguments have passed, which they perform with all Reproach, Disdain, Untruth, and Vanity: And so do pester the Realm and their Favourers Closets, with infinite such shameless and slanderous Discourses, as is most intolerable.

"They have Five or Six Supplications to several Parliaments, penned altogether according to Knox his Stile and violent Spirit, in many places word for word: Besides Martin and his Two Sons, their holy Imitations of Beza his Passavantius (that all things might proceed Geneva-like) in their Six Books of Consistorian Gravity.

"And now, upon better Care being taken by her Majesty that no such libels should be hereafter Printed in England (at the least without some danger to the Parties, if it may be known) they have found such favour as to procure their chief Instrument and old Servant Walgrave to be the King of Scots' Printer; from whence their Wants in that behalf shall be fully supplied.

"For having obtained that Place (as he pretendeth in Print) they have published by hundreds certain spiteful and malicious Books against her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council. Also their humble Motion to their LLs. with Three or Four very slanderous Treatises.

"And now it seemeth, for fear that any of all their said Libels and railing Pamphlets (that have been Written in her Highness's time) should perish (being many of them but Triobolar Chartals). They have taken upon them to make a Register, and to Print them altogether in Scotland, in Two or Three Volumes: As it appeareth by a Part of the said Register already come from thence and finished; Which containeth in it Three or Four and Forty of the said Libels."

The "Parte of a register" here mentioned has for its title:

"A parte of a register, contayning sundrie memorable matters written by divers godly and learned in our time, which stand for and desire the reformation of our Church, in Discipline and Ceremonies, according to the pure worde of God, and the Lawe of our Land."

The bulk of the issue seems to have been sent to London by ship, only to be destroyed there by order of the authorities.⁶ Fortunately, one or two copies escaped, and remain to the present day.⁷

It is quite certain that the Puritans intended to continue their work by printing the "Seconde Parte." Waldegrave had managed to print the first, but either its quick confiscation or other repressive measures deterred the ministers from carrying through their plan.

The task of collecting and editing the enormous mass of material in the printed "Parte of a register" and the manuscript "Seconde Parte" must have been a very difficult one, and the wonder is how the Puritans were able to succeed in it as far as they did, and get even one volume through the press.

Into the way in which the manuscripts comprising the "Seconde Parte" came into the possession of the Rev. Roger Morrice, M.A.,⁸ we cannot go here, neither can we tell how they came into Dr. Williams's Library. Suffice it for us to say that it is to these volumes in print and manuscript that we are indebted for the material for this paper. White himself was responsible for many articles in the manuscript volumes, and these give us almost all the information we have concerning his life and work.

And now for William White. We know nothing at all of his birth and parentage, or of his doings before 1567. Possibly he was abroad during the Marian persecution, but his name has not been met with in lists of the refugees. Neither does he appear in the accounts we have of congregations which met secretly in and about London between

⁶ Herbert's Ames. *Typographical Antiquities* III., 1514.

⁷ Brit. Mus.; Bodleian; Dr. Williams's Library; Congregational Library, Memorial Hall; Mansfield Coll. Library, Oxford—the late Dr. Dale's copy.

1550 and 1558. There seems to be no foundation at all for the statement—first made by Fuller and afterwards by many others—that he and other leaders of the Separatist congregation in 1567 were beneficed in London. Their names have no place in Newcourt,⁹ and in no contemporary reference are they spoken of as clergymen. In one of his controversies White says he is a baker; but his opponent seems to doubt this, saying that “this messe of unsavourie meat . . . cannot be eaten without salte.” Perhaps Neal’s description of him is most likely to be the correct one, and White was “a substantial citizen of London.”

The story of the Plumbers’ Hall congregation is well known, and we need not dwell on it here. The Christians who had been in Geneva and Frankfort, Zurich and Basle, during Mary’s reign, had heard the Gospel truly preached and seen the sacraments purely administered; and on the Continent Puritanism was born.

Elizabeth’s insistence on uniformity produced Nonconformity, and the memory of the blessings experienced in secret meetings in the time of persecution¹⁰ combined with what the exiles had seen and heard to produce gatherings for worship. The Plumbers’ Hall meeting was one of these, and on June 20th, 1567, seven members of the congregation were brought before the Lord Mayor, the Bishop of London and other Commissioners, and charged with absenting themselves from their parish churches and assembling for prayer, preaching, and administration of the Sacraments.¹¹

⁹ Roger Morrice was ejected from Duffield in Derbyshire in 1662. Strype, the famous ecclesiastical historian, says of him (in his edition of Stowe’s *Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, II., 57): “This gentleman was a very diligent collector of ecclesiastical MSS., relating to the later history of the English Church, whereof he left vast heaps behind him, and who favoured me with his correspondence.” A full account of Morrice and his MSS. will appear in the calendar of the “*Seconde Parte of a Register*,” which is almost ready for the press.

¹⁰ Nor in Hennessy’s *Novum Repertorium Ecc. Par. Londin.*

¹¹ “A parte of a register,” pp. 24-5. See also Dale, *Congregationalism*, p. 62, for an eloquent piece of writing on this point.

¹² “The true report of our Examination . . .” is in “A parte of a register,” pp. 23-37; reprinted Grindal’s *Remains*, *ut sup.*

White desires to answer for his fellows, but the bishop rebukes him, and calls on Smith, "the auncientest" of them, to speak first. Before long, however, White takes a prominent part in the discussion, and he is not content with standing on the defensive. He tells the bishop that there are many papists in the city "whom you doe alowe to be preachers and ministers, and thrust out the godly for your pleasures sake"; and he goes on to point out that his comrades do not resist, but suffer that which authority lays on them, being punished for seeking to serve God according to His Word. He makes a strong plea for discipline in the Church, and lays down the Puritan position in the words:

"We holde nothing that is not warraunted by the worde of God We wilbe tried by the best reformed Churches. The church of Scotlande hath the worde truely preached, the Sacramentes truely ministered, and Discipline accordinge to the worde of God; & these be the notes by which the true church is known."

After this conference, White and his companions seem to have been imprisoned; but they must have been released very soon, for six of the seven names appear in a list¹² of "Persons fownde to gether within the parishe of St. martens in the felde in the howse of James Tynne goldsmythe the forthe daye of marche 1567,¹³ as here after Followethe etc." White appears here as "william whighte of St. Jones Strete."

On April 22nd, 1569, twenty-four men and seven women "wer dyschardged out of Brydewell" by Bishop Grindal,¹⁴ after an imprisonment lasting

¹² Dom. St. Pap. Eliz. xlvii., 46. Printed by Dr. Powicke in *Lists of the Early Separatists*. (Trans. of Cong. Hist. Soc. I., 141-158) and by Mr. Burrage in *Early English Dissenters*, II., 9-11.

¹³ *i.e.* 1567-8.

¹⁴ Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. xii, 68: Powicke, Burrage, *ut sup.*

apparently thirteen months.¹⁵ The names of the women are not given, but the twelfth name among the men is that of "William Wight."

The first authoritative writing of White's we possess is a letter to Grindal, rebuking the latter for his extreme dealing with those called before him on December 19th, 1569. The letter, which is partly quoted by Neal, is subscribed:

"Yours in the lord to commaund, William White, who joineth with you in every speck of truth, but utterly detesteth whole Antichrist, head, body, and taile, never to joyne with you or any in the least joynt therof, nor in any ordinaunce of man contrary to the word of God by his grace unto the Church."

White pleads for discipline as necessary for the Church, and quotes Calvin and Beza in support. He asks the bishop, who had been "offended with a late exercise of prayer and fasting," held without the consent of public authority, to go before the magistrates in well-doing.

"And your self allso by the authority of God's word ought rather to have commended and defended the zeale of such pastors and teachers, than at the complaint of a parasite to cast their pastor into prison without hearing his cause either before or after. No doubt you are abused by such flatterers, for ther was never yet any thing so evill commaunded by authority but ther have bene allway some flatterers to defend it, as I feare a sort of parasits and forked flattering clawbacks do you in these matters, without whose diligent calling upon these extremityes are not wrought."

Then turning to the question of the vestments, White says:

"You sayde you feared not to appeare before God for wearing this apparell, and that with a better conscience and more knowledge than we, and I have heard that you would never aske Gods mercy for using them, or like wordes in effect: Which is to lamentable for to heare. For if we doinge

¹⁵ That they were in Bridewell in December, 1568, is plain from a letter in the "Seconde Parte of a register," addressed to them there by Thomas Lever, December 5th. Evidently Lever has conferred with them, and he sends his judgement on the ecclesiastical situation. He is resolved not to wear the habits, but seeing the Church of England has the substance of true doctrine, he thinks men ought not to separate, but rather strive for reformation.

the commaundement of God as perfectly as we can, must yet appeale to mercy, how much more for offending and persecuting the brethren. And at the first yourself sayde in a sermon, as many can witnesse, that you were sorry, for that you knew you should offend many godly consciences by wearing the apparell, requiring your auditory to have patience for a time for that you did but use them for a time, to thend you might the sooner abolish them. And now instead of abolishing them you not onelie have established them in your selves, but also in other, displacing, banishing, persecuting, and imprysoning such as will not weare nor consent therunto. . . .”

White tells the bishop that a terrible punishment is in store for those who cause God’s children to stumble, but the fate of those who persecute Christians “for manifest corruptions” will be even worse.

“Better were it for you to leave your Lordly dignity not given you by Christ, to suffer afflictions with and for the syncerity and truth of the Gospell than by injoying therof to become a persecuter of your brethren.”

Seeing the Privy Council has promised to do all in its power towards reformation, the bishops are responsible for any delay, and they are asked to consider “whether you have bene or are more diligent in urging your owne traditions and have afflicted moe within these 3 or 4 yers for refusing therof then you have bene these xii years in calling upon the keeping of Gods commaundements and punishing the breakers thereof.” They are therefore requested to labour that

“all remnants, badges, and marks of Antichrist, with all plants which our heavenly father hath not planted may at once be plucked up by the roots, that Gods holy word may be the only rule and line to measure his religion by, and that all mans wisdome, policy, and good intents may be so troden under thobedience of Gods word.”

White’s name does not appear in the three famous papers relating to the Fitz Church, which are in the Record Office¹⁶ under the date 1571.

¹⁶ D. S. P. Eliz. Add. xx., 107; one in manuscript, and two printed in Black Letter.

Indeed, he seems to have been at liberty during this year, for we have two manuscripts, entitled respectively :

“Certaine griefes justly conceived of B. Jewells sermon with a brief awnswer to some parte therof, written by W. W. and drawne into forme by T. W. ¹⁷.”

“An awnswer to such Arguments as B. Horne used in his sermon at Paules Crosse upon the 2d. Sondag after Easter Ao 1571, to mainteyne the remnants and reliques of Antichriste.”

The letter has no name, but there is little doubt who is the author, since parts of it are almost identical with the former. White's aim is to excite the bishops “to an earnest and dilligent execution of your office in preching the gospell syncerely and purely,” even at the loss of their “pompous livings and lordly titles.” They are as those who shut up the kingdom of heaven, neither entering themselves nor allowing others to do so. As White puts it :

“You will neither reforme Gods church yourselves for feare of losing your pomp and honor, neither will you suffer those which would, even with the loss of liberty, living and life, that the beautiful face and purity of the Apostolicke Church might once shine in Englande, which God for his crucified Christe Jesus sake bring to passe at this parliament if it be his good pleasure.”

How can it be right for a Christian to use anti-Christian things, to believe :

“that you may thrust out of Gods Church or vineyard for trifles the moste diligent labourers, that you may displace persecute, imprison, and banish such as will not alow or weare trifles and frivolous things in the service of our jelous God, that you may place in their rouses and freight Gods church with licentious, wicked, doltish, and drunken mynisters, that you may serve God with a mixture and corrupt religion, that you may deliver to Gods people, chaf with wheate, shells with kernells, clouts with Christe?”

Jewell had done good work in the past in

¹⁷ Noldoubt Thomas Wilcox.

defending the Church against the Papists, but now he is to be condemned as an enemy to sincerity and purity.

The emphasis of the Puritan demand was now changing. Previously, the burden of their cry had been the removal of the habits, *i.e.*, for Puritanism so called; now they ask for the discipline, the establishment of the eldership, and the abolition of monarchical episcopacy.

With this aim, Field and Wilcox wrote their *Admonition to the Parliament* in 1572, and as a result they speedily found themselves in Newgate. The "Seconde Parte of a Register" contains not only four petitions for their release, but also their Confession of Faith (dated December 4th) and an account of an interview with the archbishop's chaplain on September 11th.

Of more concern to us, however, is a document entitled: "A preface or letter to have bene set before the Admonition to the Parliament by W. W." The history of this preface is unknown, and it is useless to conjecture why it did not appear before the printed *Admonition*. It is short, and sets forward the Puritan position very concisely. It reads:

"For as much as heretofore it hath bene thought good to beare with the weaknes of certaine for a time, who were to much addicted to ceremonies, thinking therby to winne them to doctryne; which sort of people for the most part, have so little profited therby this 12 or 13 yeers that from their weaknes they are growen to malicious willfullness, not onely craving, contending, and urging ceremonies, never caring for doctrine, but by conspiracy, rebellion, and open vilence have practised not onely utterly to displace doctrine but to overthrow the whole state to bring in Ceremonies and all other abhominations, for such as so intierly love a part do not hate the whole.

"For reformation wherof if our Bbs. now with other in authority will be as diligent to urge doctrine and provide that every parish have a preching pastor, as heretofore they were in urging ceremonies, and appointing that every mynister should were a surplice with other pelf, ye shall within short time see

our God more glorified, his people better edified, our prince more dutyfully obeyed synne lesse frequented, godlines more exercised, and these willfull weaklings or rather rebels restrained and nearer sifted. Which thing we most humbly crave with a thorow reformation both of doctrine, ceremonies, and regiment, according to the admonition by the word of the lord hereunto annexed. Wherin by a brief comparison you may see how the state of our Church is and how it ought to be, both by the Word of God and example of the primitive Church, as also of Geneva, France, Scotland, and all other Churches rightly reformed. After which commaundement and examples we desire to have our Church reformed, both for the advancement of Gods glory, the edifying of his Church, and the safety of our prince, the preservation of our country and the salvation both of our bodies and our soules, all which, reformation being neglected, are in great daunger."

Our next dated document concerning White is his account of his "Examynation before the Commissioners" on January 18th, 1573-4. This is given almost in full and almost accurately by Brook, and so we only mention one or two important points. The Lord Chief Justice begins the examination by telling the Puritan that he is not White, but "as blacke as the divel"; in the middle he describes White as "the wickedest and most contemptuous person that came before me since I sate in this commission"; and at the conclusion, he sends him to the Gatehouse and threatens him with the loss of his head.

We learn from this account that White was married, that he was set at liberty at Christmas at the instance of some privy councillors, and that it was his custom to attend, not his own parish church, but places where he was "better edified." He claims he is a true subject and no rebel, but he must obey God's word rather than man's. He acknowledges the queen's supremacy, and such of the Book of Common Prayer as agrees with the Scriptures, and he is ready to submit to the judgement of God's word and of the "other reformed

churches." White says he has been two years in prison and almost outlawed, and now he asks for justice; he pleads his cause boldly, and rebukes the Lord Chief Justice when the latter uses an oath.

Of White's life subsequent to this we know little, but no doubt he was as busy as his pen indicates. About this time we place one of writings entitled:

"A brief of such things as obscure Gods glory, stay the course of the Gospell, to the great grief of all the godly, and for which many suffers bandes and imprisonment."

One of White's characteristics is the boldness with which he speaks of the queen and others in authority, who fail to go forward with the reformation of the Church. He shews from the example of David that a godly prince may command wicked things and herein should not be obeyed,¹⁹ and in words curiously like those of Robert Browne in his *Treatise of Reformation without Tarying for Anie*, he claims that the people should lead the way in God's work when princes, preachers, and magistrates are backward. The great question should be, not what things are allowed and directed in the queen's injunctions, but what things are commanded and enjoined in the Word of God.

White quotes Gilby's words: "That the Clergy of England will be a Church alone, thei will neither folow Christ and his Apostles, nor yet will they folow the pope and prelats, but will be wiser than the one and worse than the other"; and he goes on to say that as none in the land "careth for sinceritie in religion so are all carelesse of a godly life, and walke on in wickednes, as though there were no God nor devill, nor heaven nor hell."

About this time too, we have a letter to Edward

¹⁹ "Our common error at this day is that sith by our godly prince (whom God preserve) and Bb., much good hath bene done to Christs Church in England, for which all true Christians are and ought to be thankfull, therefore we must alow and receive in the service of God whatsoever thei commaund."

Dering, in which White describes himself as "but a simple brother, yet wishing syncerity in religion with a thorow reformation." It has been reported that Dering is being urged to remain silent concerning the habits and other corruptions in the Church. White exhorts him to stand firm and be a true watchman of the Lord, for "how you or any may graunt not to speake againste them untill they cease to urge and use them by the worde of God, I see not."

Next we have a letter to a recusant, "Friend Dover," with whom White has had a conference. Evidently Dover had gone over to Rome either from the Church of England or from some Separatist congregation. White states the "jarrs betweene Christ and the Pope," and puts his position in the words:

"I do in the bowells and blood of Jesus Christ require you that neyther yourself do obstinately hold, much lesse affirme for truth to others, that the Masse is available bothe for quicke and dead, that Christ his very flesh and blood is in mouth and belly chewed and digested in the Sacrament; that it is lawfull to have, to kneele, to creepe to, and to worship Images, that we are saved by works and not by faith onely; that Christ hath delivered us but from originall sinne, that we have free will, that it is lawfull to pray to the dead and for the dead, that children dying without Bapt. be damned, that mariage is not lawfull among Mynisters, that the Pope and his priests must not be subjects to princes, that there is a purgatory, that the Pope can forgive sinnes that his Bulls, Pardons, Masses, Indulgences, with innumerable suchlike be meritorious meanes and helpe to salvation. All which I say I require you as above neither to hold nor affirme for truth to others before you can approve the same by the warrant of Gods writen word, and then I daresay you shall neither hold nor affirme them for truth to others while the world standeth; for I dare advouch upon no small daunger that in the holy Canonicall writen word of God, rightly understood, there is not one chapter, text, word nor syllable for the warrant of anyone of these foresayde opynions."

He exhorts Dover to reconsider his position and

come to hear the preaching of God's Word, the only channel of salvation.

White's last writing is the account of a conference with an English Anabaptist. In 1575 nine Anabaptists were banished from England, and two were burnt in spite of John Foxe's eloquent protest to the queen. The Anabaptists have not yet had justice from historians; and their descendants, our Baptists, still hasten to disown them. They need not be so afraid, for the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century were the pioneers of religious liberty, and to them all honour is due. Their contemporaries, however, thought that Anabaptism and Munster atrocities were synonymous, and in every land the followers of this faith were hunted and tortured. And here William White was no better than his fellows, for in the conference before us he shews all the arrogance and intolerance of one persuaded that heresy is of the devil. As we read, our sympathies are all on the side of S. B., the despised Anabaptist, and White's position seems neither logical nor Christian.

If hard words could convert men, however, White might have convinced his adversary, of whom he says in summing up:

"first, in saying you will subscribe to all obedience, and yet disobey, you are a liar.

"Secondlie, in that you dissent from the universall Church of Christ you are a Schismatique.

"Thirdly, in joyning yourself to your divelish sect, you are, as I have saide, an hereticke.

"Fourthly, if you have felowship with them, and be not of their mynde, you are a dissembling hypocrite."

In a concluding epistle dated April 11th, 1576, White encloses:

"a copy of a letter written to those of your secte in Newgate not many daies before 2 of them suffered touching the truth of Christ's incarnation according to the holy Scriptures, which those 9 that were banished, those 2 that suffered, and those 2

that lately were delivered, with all the rest of your sect, and therefore very likely yourself also, do most ignorantly, impudently, and damnably deny."

The Anabaptist writes with moderation and good sense, and replies to White's gibes and sneers with Christian forbearance. He begins one letter: "Mr. White and brother in the Lord, I have received your great and plentiful letter, thanking you most humbly for your great courtesy you would vouchsafe to take so great pains to write to me, being so simple and rude in understanding as I am. But God make me to understand his truth." He says he means "to lean to a more sure pillar than Mr. Calvin," *viz.*, the Scriptures, and states: "I have no secte nor am of any secte, but of the religion of Christe."

Such are all the writings which we can with certainty claim for White. There are other anonymous writings in the "Register," which *may* be his, but we cannot mention these here.

Of White's subsequent life we know absolutely nothing. Several men with his name (clergy and lay) appear in London in various offices between 1580 and 1590, but there is nothing to connect them with the subject of this paper, neither does any writing of White's seem to have been published. And so for the present we must leave him. He was a typical Puritan, with the virtues and failings of his age and faith. Exceptionally bold and fearless, he speaks and writes without stopping to think of the consequences. His faith was strong and his language corresponds with his faith.

One remarkable thing about him is his versatility. He can write to a persecuting bishop or to a wavering Puritan with equal ease, and he attacks a Roman Catholic with as much assurance as an Anabaptist. Confident that he is right, certain

that he is one of the elect, he has little sympathy with heresy of any kind (the Papist and Arian, the Freewill man and the Familist are all alike damned), and so he has little idea of toleration. But he was a strong man, and stood for what he believed to be right in a time when strong men were needed because they were few. Such men as he helped to win for us our religious freedom, and so we owe a debt to William White. To him then we pay our tribute.

A. PEEL.

Early Nonconformist Academies

Bethnal Green, Highgate, and Clerkenwell

(The following is to be substituted, by way of correction, for the article on p. 155, vol. v.)

RESPECTING this Academy our information is very fragmentary. It seems to have been commenced by Rev. Thomas Brand. He was born at Leaden Rooding, Essex, in 1635, his father being "a dignitary of the Church of England." Having acquitted himself with credit at Merton College, Oxford, he entered as a law student in the Temple. But the bent of his mind was rather towards divinity; and being a man of considerable wealth, he became an itinerant preacher, only with some reluctance undertaking for a short time a pastorate in some unnamed town in Sussex. He travelled much and scattered his bounty on every side, his charities amounting to about £300 a year. He distributed thousands of Bibles, catechisms, and religious books of a non-controversial character; established many country schools, and contributed largely to the building of meeting-houses and supplying them with ministers. "He was a great encourager of young men for the ministry." So much says his friend and biographer, Dr. S. Annesley, who, however, strangely omits to state that he was also their instructor. From the records of the Presbyterian Fund, however, we learn that he presided over an academy at Bishop's Hall, Bethnal Green; the house was so called from having been the residence of Bishop Bonner. In 1690 he had nine students under his care, who had exhibitions from the Presbyterian Fund; four

more entered the following year, which was the last of Mr. Brand's life. He died in December, 1691. He is described as "a man of great moderation. His zeal was neither for nor against any party, but for promoting sound knowledge of those truths in which all were agreed."

Mr. Brand was assisted and succeeded by Dr. John Kerr. He was born in Ireland in 1639, and graduated at Edinburgh in 1664. He then became a successful tutor somewhere in Ireland, having many pupils, some of whom became ministers—but no names are recorded. In 1687 the persecution initiated by Tyrconnel induced him to quit Ireland; and he settled at Bethnal Green as colleague with Mr. Brand, continuing the academy after that gentleman's death. One of his students was Samuel Palmer, from whose *Defence of the Dissenters Education, etc.*, (against Samuel Wesley) we gather most of our knowledge concerning him. Palmer says he "met with equal encouragement for some years." The house was conducted on distinctly Puritan lines: prayer in the family was never omitted; the morning exercise in the schools began with public prayer, frequently in Latin, in which language Dr. Kerr was more fluent than in English; before the divinity lectures a senior student prayed. Strict moral order was maintained: none were allowed out after 9 p.m.; unbecoming levity was gravely rebuked; and it was understood that profane or obscene language would be visited with immediate expulsion. As was the custom in most universities, Latin seems to have been in more general use than the vulgar tongue.

Palmer furnishes a copious list of the text-books used, and the authors recommended for private study: In *Logic*, the System of Hereboord, with notes on the agreement or opposition of other

teachers; for private study, the *Ars Cogitandi*, Colbert, Derodon, Le Clerc, Smiglecius, to be followed by Goveani Elenctica. In *Metaphysics*, Fromenii Synopsis; for private study, Baronius, Suarez, Colbert. For *Ethics*, Hereboord, Cicero *De Officiis*, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, with the comments of Arrian and Simplicianus, Henry More, Puffendorf, and the Proverbs of Solomon. For *Natural Philosophy*, Le Clerc compared with Aristotle, Des Cartes, Colbert, and Staire. For *Rhetoric*, J. G. Vossius, Aristotle, and Cicero *De Oratore*. These topics furnished the mornings' work, with Buchanan's Psalms on Monday, disputations in Latin on philosophical topics on alternate days, and on Saturdays declamations in Latin on set topics.

After dinner the Greek and Latin classics were read, and on Mondays and Fridays the Greek Testament, six or seven chapters at a sitting, so that the whole was read through once a year. As aids, the Synopsis Criticorum and the Lexicons of Hesychius, Favorinus and Martinius. For the other divinity lecture the text-book was Synopsis Purioris Theologiae; while for private reading, Turretin, Theses Salmur, Baxter's Methodus, and Usher were recommended. On the controversies between Protestants and Papists, Ames's Bellarminus Enervatus was chiefly commended, with the series of treatises since collected in Gibson's Preservative against Popery. But on other controversies the best reputed authors on all sides were read; thus on Original Sin: Placaeus and Barlow de Natura Mali; on Grace and Freewill: Rutherford, Strangius and Amyraldus; on Episcopacy: Altar Damascenum, Hall and Baxter; on Church Government: Stillingfleet, Owen and Rutherford; and on Practical Divinity: Baxter, Charnock and Tillotson. The students were en-

couraged to think for themselves, the tutor never seeking to impose his own judgement.

In 1696 Kerr visited Leyden, where he graduated as doctor of medicine, March 5th, 1696-7. His Latin thesis was printed with the title *Disputatio de secretionis animalis efficiente causa et ordine*. His only other known publication was *Selectarum de lingua latina observationum, libri duo*.

At some unrecorded date Dr. Kerr removed his academy from Bethnal Green to Highgate, and subsequently (it is said) to Clerkenwell. From first to last 22 of his students for the ministry had exhibitions from the Presbyterian Board, some of whom attained to eminence. Others practised law. The academy continued at least till 1708; the time of its dissolution we have not been able to ascertain. Dr. Kerr died in 1723.

Only a few of the students at this academy have been identified; unfortunately, several referred to by Palmer are indicated only by single initials. The following are named:

Francis Freeman, Tooting
John Foxon, Haberdashers' Hall
Roger Griffiths, Abergavenny
Benjamin Pike
John (? Jabez) Earle
Charles Owen, Warrington
William Holman
Samuel Brookes
Samuel Bourn
Samuel Palmer

Dr. Samuel Clark, St. Alban's
George Smyth, Hackney
Thomas Hall, London
James Read, London
Henry Read, Southwark
Joseph Burroughs (Baptist)
J. Southwell
Samuel Rosewell, Silver Street
Dr. John Ward, Prof. of Rhetoric
in Gresham College

Rev. John Short, previously pastor at Lyme and Colyton, removed to London (Miles Lane Church) in 1698. W. Jeremy says: "He educated young men for the ministry at Lyme and Colyton, and afterwards in London at Bishop's Hall, Bethnal Green"; and also that in 1692-96 he had eight students on the foundation of the Presbyterian

Fund. There seems to be some confusion here, unless the fund students were at Colyton, and not, as Jeremy implies, in Middlesex. Whether there was any connection between Short and the academy conducted by Brand and Kerr is very doubtful.

Newbury

John Southwell (nephew of Richard Southwell, ejected from Baswick, Leicestershire) was for some time assistant to Woodhouse at Sheriff Hales. In 1688 he succeeded B. Woodbridge, the deprived rector of Newbury, as pastor of a Presbyterian church in that town, where he died in 1694. He is said to have instructed eight students who were exhibitioners of the Presbyterian Fund. This may possibly explain the tradition mentioned by Toulmin, and referred to in C.H.S. *Trans.*, vol. iii., p. 394.

Whitehaven and Bolton

Thomas Dixon, M.A., M.D., was born in 1679. His father was an adherent of the Established Church. Having studied under Coningham and Chorlton at Manchester, he became pastor of the dissenting church at Whitehaven in 1711. There he gave private instruction to several students, one of whom was Caleb Rotheram, afterwards of Kendal. In 1723 he removed to Bolton, where he not only ministered to a congregation (Bank Street, now Unitarian), and practised as a physician, but also conducted a small academy. Among his students were Dr. John Taylor of Norwich, Dr. Henry Winder of Liverpool, and Dr. George Benson of London—all inclined to Arianism or Unitarianism. Four of them were aided by the Presbyterian Fund. He died on August 14th, 1729.

Congregationalists and the "Great Ejectment"

IN the controversy which has arisen over Mr. Millard's booklet entitled *The Great Ejectment of 1662*, the statements made about the place and number of Congregationalists in those days have been startlingly various. The author, in one sentence, appears to concede that there were such persons as "Congregationalists of the Restoration"; but he adds—"they hardly come into our story"; and he goes on to say—"The men whose struggles we are to follow, and whose valorous fight for truth and conscience we are to commemorate with thankful admiration, were certainly not Congregationalists." This clearly implies that, in Mr. Millard's view, *none* of those ejected on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, were Congregationalists. Wherever the "Congregationalists of the Restoration" were, they were not in the State Church; and therefore they were not ejected from it. He does not tell us where they were, nor what they were doing. That was no part of the story he had to tell to young Congregationalists on the 250th anniversary of the Great Ejectment. But none of them held livings in the Establishment, and so none of them suffered ejectment for conscience' sake. This is one extreme.

The opposite extreme would be to claim that *the great majority* of the ejected were Congregationalists; but I never met with any serious student of the history of the period who would maintain such a position. It is admitted on all sides that the great majority called themselves, and were called by others, Presbyterians; though it is not easy to ascertain in what particulars the Presbyterianism of many of them differed from the Congregationalism of those who avowed themselves Congregationalists.

Between these two extremes there seem to be several shades of opinion as to the proper place and real numbers of these "Restoration Congregationalists." Certainly they fall into two classes: (1) Some had "gathered churches" in Commonwealth times, and in the act of forming them had withdrawn from the Establishment, and so "remained outside" when Episcopacy was re-established, and could not be ejected from within. Such, it is alleged, were the Congregational pastors who assembled at the Savoy Conference in 1658. (2) Others, while ministering to gathered churches, became or remained rectors, vicars, city lecturers, and preachers in cathedrals in connection with parishes. The former class are represented as genuine Congregationalists, "bright and shining examples of Congregationalism"; the latter are deemed to occupy an anomalous position, and, it is said, should be set aside as unworthy of any

26 Congregationalists and the "Great Ejectment"

place in the story of the Great Ejectment, because "they tried to face both ways."

But this reading of history many cannot accept. They affirm that many "men of the Congregational way," who held livings all over the country, were as really Congregationalists as those who ministered as Separatists to gathered churches outside the pale of the Establishment. They were doing honest and effective spiritual work when, at the Restoration, many of them were ejected from their benefices to make way for men who had been sequestered by the Commonwealth authorities, and were still living to claim reinstatement. The rest, not being thus challenged, retained their positions in honour and spiritual efficiency, till the Act of Uniformity ejected them in 1662. The boldest exponent of this view estimates the number of these as at least 500. And I gladly rank myself among these "non-contents."

I hold strongly that any fair reading of the facts of Commonwealth history shews that many "congregated" or "gathered" churches were gathered in the parishes of which their pastors were rectors, vicars or lecturers; not as outside the established order, but as an allowed or recognized part of it.

It is true that some good Independents, like John Goodwin, of St. Katherine's, Coleman Street, were ejected by the Parliamentary authorities quite early in their period of power, because they would not admit that all baptized persons who had been confirmed were fit to receive the communion, or to have their children baptized. These, if (like John Goodwin) after their ejectment they gathered a church within the parish area, were outside the Establishment when they gathered their churches, remained outside at the Restoration, and, of course, could not be ejected in 1662.

But others form a class, of which Hezekiah Woodward, of Bray in Berkshire, may be taken as typical. I happen to be familiar with the facts of this case, because his predecessor and successor in the incumbency was a lineal ancestor of mine. Woodward had espoused the Presbyterian cause in 1641, when a minister in the city, but later adopted Congregationalism as the more excellent way. In the latter part of the Civil War he acted as chaplain to Oliver's forces, when the Lord General and his officers were quartered at Bray. In 1649 Oliver appointed him to the vicarage of Bray, and there he remained till the Restoration. With the knowledge and approval of the Commonwealth authorities he gathered there a Congregational church. As Anthony à Wood puts it: "He had a select congregation out of his parish of those that were to be saved"—that is the sarcastic description of the High Anglican historian—"who frequently met to pray in the vicaridge house"; and with great glee Wood adds: "which, if he had staid a year or two more would have destroyed all that were to be saved by falling on them." In short, Woodward was vicar of a parish and

pastor of a Congregational church, which held prayer meetings and church meetings in the vicarage house, right up to the Restoration. He then had to surrender the living to one who quite early in the interregnum had been deprived of it, *viz.*, Edward Fulham, who had received it from Charles I. at the time he was examining chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford. Had the sequestered vicar died during the interregnum, Woodward—like many others in similar cases—might have continued to hold the living (though of the Congregational way) until the Act of Uniformity. This, however, made a choice imperative between accepting the Prayer Book religion, with "unfeigned assent and consent," and of course abjuring his Congregationalism, or becoming a Nonconformist ejected minister "of the Independent judgement."

This being so, we surely have no just ground for refusing to believe that incumbents—there were many of them—who on the accession of Charles II. in 1660, or after Bartholomew's Day, 1662, described themselves, or were described by others, as Congregationalists or Independents, were really such; that they deserved the name, and had retained it honourably in the years preceding the Restoration; and that they call for recognition and honour by us, as sufferers for conscience' sake in this Commemoration year of 1912.

Indeed, it should always be borne in mind that "congregated" or Congregational churches were of two kinds. (1) Some were formed wholly outside the State Church, because by pastors and members alike the alliance between Church and State was considered an unholy and sinful thing. These were not only "gathered," but also "separated" churches, wholly separate from the Church of England as by law established; and the men who formed them were properly called Separatists as well as Congregationalists. (2) Others were formed within the State Church, the conception of which was, at this time, almost universally accepted as quite legitimate, if not normal; these were self-governed communities within the parish—Independent churches formed after the Congregational way. And is it not a fact that Robert Browne, the father of English Congregationalism, illustrated both these types at different stages of his career? In his early days he formed, in England and in Holland, "gathered" or "congregated" churches on the basis of Separatism; and later, when he had accepted the State Church incumbency of Achurch, he formed and fostered a little "gathered" or "Independent" church within his parish.

Now it is rather remarkable that as yet no serious attempt has been made to ascertain the number of such Congregationalists as were ejected from the Church of England in 1660-62. And in what follows, I wish to present to the members of the Society the results of such an attempt. The first and most obvious step would be to extract from Calamy the names of those whom he describes in so

28 Congregationalists and the "Great Ejectment"

many words as "Congregationalists," or "of the Congregational way," or "Independents," or "of the Independent judgement." The result of this process has surprised me. Any careful reader of Calamy must have noticed how very seldom he specifies the denomination of his heroes. His book is a "Nonconformists' Memorial," and his main object is to record the sufferings, the character, and the abilities of those who were unable to conform in all things to the ritual and discipline of the Established Church. The particular shade or type of their nonconformity did not much concern him; and as the cases where he notes the denomination as Congregational or Independent are comparatively few, and his own sympathies are known to have been strongly Presbyterian, it seems natural to infer that wherever no denomination is mentioned, the sufferer was Presbyterian. But natural as such an inference is, we shall see strong reasons for questioning its accuracy.

Extracting from Calamy, then, the names directly described as Congregationalists, I find in the Northern counties (Northumberland, Cumberland, Yorkshire, and Lancashire) 12; in the North-Midland group (Cheshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire) 10; in the South-Midlands (Northants, Bucks, Oxford, Warwick, Worcester, and Gloucestershire) 9; in the Eastern counties (Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex) 22; in the South-Eastern district (Berks, Middlesex, including London, Kent, Sussex, and Hants) also 22; while strangely enough in the whole South-West only 6 names appear. In fourteen English counties not a single ejected minister is directly accredited with Congregationalism, *viz.*, Durham, Westmoreland, Derby, Rutland, Leicester, Hunts, Beds, Herts, Surrey, Somerset, Hereford, Dorset, or Cornwall; nor is one reported from the whole of Wales. Three others are named in Calamy's Appendix, so that if we were dependent on the *direct* statements of Calamy alone, we could only reckon up 85 "Restoration Congregationalists," scattered over 26 counties of England. But even in Calamy's text we are not wholly dependent on his *direct* statements, though casual readers are usually content with these. He uses phrases in a technical sense, which might easily be passed over as of no special significance, but which rightly understood afford us, indirectly, just the information of which we are in search. Wherever the term "congregation" is used, we shall find it has a special ecclesiastical meaning. With us nowadays "a congregation" generally means those who regularly attend a particular place of worship, whether they are church members or not. Thus, by a singular irony of fate, even among Congregationalists the word "congregation" is used in contradistinction to the word "church," instead of as its synonym. As Calamy uses it, however, the "congregation" is the "church congregated" or gathered out of a parish or neighbourhood in the Congregational way; formally cemented together by the adoption

of a covenant, which (usually) each member signed when he was admitted into the fellowship. When, therefore, Calamy tells us that an ejected minister was "pastor of a congregation" or of "a congregation of dissenters" in a particular place, it really means that he was the pastor of a Congregational church; and the same is still more clearly indicated when the phrase is "pastor of a gathered church."

Again, when Calamy tells us that an ejected minister was closely associated, either in the active ministry or in very intimate friendship, with some noted Congregationalist, we cannot often be far wrong in concluding that he also was of the same judgement.

There are other statements, too, which on a first reading might be passed over, which are sure, though indirect, indications of Congregationalist proclivities. Men whose fathers had emigrated to New England, and who themselves were educated at Harvard University, may all be set down as Congregationalists, as well as those who were the personal chaplains and specially intimate religious friends of Oliver and Henry Cromwell.

Carefully noting each of these, we may add 48 to the 85 about whom Calamy affords direct testimony; so that altogether, directly or indirectly, he furnishes us with the names of 133 "Restoration Congregationalists" who were ejected either in 1660 or 1662.

This, of course, is but a small fraction of the total number of ejected Nonconformists. But fortunately we are not shut up to the information we can gather from Calamy. The Episcopal Returns of 1669 give us some independent information, and the Indulgence documents give us a great deal more. Sifting these, as they are presented in the text of my "Original Records" and analysed in the Classified Summary, we arrive at this interesting result: In the Northern counties 29 additional names; in the Northern Midlands 31; in the Southern Midlands 34; in the Eastern counties 58; in the South-Eastern counties, including London, 40; in the South-Western 34; in Wales, including Monmouth, 29; while in Calamy's additional list we have still one more. We thus have 256 names to be added to Calamy's contingent of 133, making a total of 389.

Thus far, however, we have not distinguished between those who were ejected before "Black Bartholomew" and those who were actually ejected by the Act of Uniformity. To make this distinction is no easy task. Again, we naturally turn first to Calamy; but as his immediate object was only to make his book a complete Memorial of the sufferings of Nonconformists, whether due directly to the Act of Uniformity or to the change in the ecclesiastical position which took place automatically in 1660, when Episcopacy as well as the Monarchy was restored, he has not made a point of always stating distinctly the date at which each man was "outed." It is true in many cases he says that it

was in 1660 or 1661 that it happened, either through the action of the Royal Commissioners appointed to reinstate the Universities on their former lines, or through the reinstatement of surviving clergy who had been sequestered in the Commonwealth period. In other cases he distinctly refers to "Bartholomew's Day," or "24th August, 1662," or simply to the year 1662, as the date up to which individuals retained their livings, or after which they had to undergo their privations, losses, persecutions, and imprisonments.

But there is a large number of cases in which the phrases are simply "up to" or "after his ejection." In all these the natural inference is that 1662 was the date of such ejection, and on that inference I have acted in the sifting which follows. There is also a number of cases, much larger than I had imagined until I actually counted them, where Calamy has been unable to give more information than barely this: A person of such a name was ejected from such a place. The significance of this toward the solution of our problem I shall refer to later.

But first let us see what we can learn from Calamy as to the dates when our 389 suffered ejection. I find that 10 were deprived by the Royal Commissioners of positions in the University of Oxford; 5 suffered in the same way in the colleges at Cambridge; 7 were outed in London before August 1662, and 38 in various counties of England and Wales: total 60. Deducting these from 389, we have 329 as the probable number of those who suffered under the Act of Uniformity. But 22 of these were not *technically* ejected, because they were in no fixed place, though they were "silenced" from all "public preaching," and as effectually deprived of any chance of public ministry, as if they had been ejected from livings of which they were in actual possession.

Still, this would reduce the number of Congregational ministers actually ejected from benefices in 1662 to 307. Now there are only 97 of these of whom Calamy says, *in so many words*, that 1662 was the date of their ejection. Of 210 we can only say by inference or natural assumption that they were "ejected on Black Bartholomew." But until, by documentary evidence—of parochial archives, vestry books, churchwardens' accounts, or registers—it is proved that some of them were ejected earlier, it is reasonable to speak of the whole 307 as ejected in 1662.

This, no doubt, is a small figure as compared with the total number ejected on that fatal day: not more than one-seventh on the lowest computation of that total, or one-eighth on the highest. But it is not so inconsiderable as that in any serious review of the issues of that day it should be ignored, especially when we turn from the question of mere numbers to the character, ability, and influence of the men who formed this three hundred.

Before we do this, however, it will be of some interest to notice exactly how the total was distributed over the various counties of

England and Wales. The two Eastern counties head the list: Norfolk with 29, Suffolk with 27. Yorkshire comes next with 19, and London with 16, while Essex and Devon give 13 each. Lancashire contributed 12; Northants, Sussex, and Hants each 11; Gloucester gave 10; Lincoln and Kent each 9; Wilts and Dorset each 8; Leicester, Cambridge and Monmouth each 7; Staffs and Somerset each 6; Notts, Salop, Herts and Middlesex each furnished 5; Northumberland, Derby, Warwick, Worcester, Oxford and Glamorgan each gave 4; Denbigh 3; Cheshire, Hunts, Bedford, Cardigan, Carmarthen and Pembroke each 2; Hereford, Berks, Bucks, Surrey, Montgomery and Radnor each 1. In Cumberland alone, of all the counties in which Congregationalists were ejected, though 4 were outed at the Restoration, not one was ejected in 1662. Of the English counties only four furnished none either in 1660 or 1662, *viz.*, Durham, Westmoreland, Rutland and Cornwall; and of the Welsh only three: Anglesey, Flint and Brecknock.

But it would be unwise to think of these 307, who we are almost sure were ejected in 1662, as representing the full strength of the Congregationalist contingent. There are no fewer than 666 cases in which Calamy was able to furnish nothing beyond the name of the incumbent and the place whence he was ejected, with occasional notes of character which set one wondering how he knew so much if he knew no more. Yet of these 666 the Episcopal Returns enable us to identify 37 as certainly Congregationalists. Nor is it to be supposed that if others had been like minded, they *must* either have appeared in the Episcopal Returns of 1669, or have been licensed under the Indulgence in 1672; for I find that of the 307 ejected in 1662, whom we know to have been Congregationalists, 49—almost one-sixth of the whole—are not named in the "Original Records." So we are quite sure that the actual number of Congregationalists who suffered by the Act of Uniformity was much greater than those of whom we have definite knowledge, and may well amount to the 500 which has been ventured as a challenge claim by one of our most strenuous workers in this field.

But (need I say it here, and to such an audience as that I now address?) we are not accustomed merely to count heads when we attempt an estimate of the value or efficiency of spiritual forces. And in turning for a few moments from this tedious and comparatively thankless task of estimating numbers, when we glance at some of the personalities who go to form this band of ejected Congregationalists (from 320 to 500 strong), we may be pardoned if we say that we strongly sympathize with the "indignant amazement" of the "Independent" whose letter started that discussion in the *Christian World*, which is the occasion of my paper: that in an *official Congregational manual* on "The Great Ejectment of 1662" Congregationalists should be quietly waved aside and wholly ruled out.

Of course, we must not forget that some of our brightest luminaries were outed at the Restoration. All conspicuous Independents who held appointments in the two great Universities, with many fellows and students, were ejected by the Royal Commissioners. Such at Oxford were Theophilus Gale and Humphrey Gunter, fellows of Magdalen, together with Dr. Thomas Goodwin, their distinguished president; Thankful Owen, president of St. John's; Francis Johnson, of University, and Thomas Cole, of St. Mary's Hall; Dr. Ralph Button and Dr. Singleton, of Christ Church; and—shall I say above all?—Dr. John Owen, Dean of Christchurch and Vice-Chancellor of the University.* At Cambridge, Francis Holcroft and Mr. Wildbore, of Clare Hall, were evicted, the former the founder of many "gathered churches" in Cambridgeshire and adjoining counties; Robert Brinsley and James Day, of Emmanuel, and Dr. Hutcheson, of Trinity. Inevitably Nicholas Lockyer, provost of Eton College, and Jeremy White, who had been preacher to the Council of State, lost their positions at the accession of Charles. The Puritan clergy of all the cathedrals, such as Comfort Star, at Carlisle; James Forbes and Increase Mather, at Gloucester; John Durant, at Canterbury; and Lewis Stuckley and Thomas Mall, at Exeter, were at once displaced on the restoration of Episcopacy; and John Rowe, of Westminster Abbey, and William Hook, Master of the Savoy, shared their fate. A great number of Congregationalists had to give place to sequestered clergymen, who still lived to reclaim the benefices they had lost. Of these, special mention is due, for their prominence and ability, to Philip Nye, of Bartholomew Exchange; Samuel Dyer, of All Hallows on the Wall; and William Greenhill, of Stepney; the first of whom shared with John Milton and John Goodwin the honour of having their political writings burned by the hangman in public places in the city. Others in the provinces worthy of remembrance are George Larkham, of Cokermonth; John Spilsbury, of Bromsgrove; Hezekiah Woodward, of Bray; William Troughton, of St. Martin's, Salisbury; John Eaton, of Bridport; and Theophilus Polwheile, of Tiverton. To these may be added Charles Price, of Cardigan; John Powell, of St. Lythan; and Peregrine Phillips, of Llangon. Doubtless these were among the very best of the Great Ejected, and there are others scarcely less honourable. Circumstances precluded their joining the noble host who went out on "Black Bartholomew"; but their consciences were as tender, and on exactly the same points, while their spirits were as resolute as any of their brethren who were then ejected; so that we should link them in our thought with those whom we delight to honour as actually cast out by the Act of Uniformity.

But honour we Congregationalists certainly must the noble

* Owen ceased to hold these offices before the Restoration; but he was disabled by the Act of Uniformity.—*Editor.*

band of Independents and "men of the Congregational way," who suffered in that Great Ejectment, and whose influence remains to this day in 35 counties of England and in 10 of Wales! It would be tedious to recount them all, or even all those whose memory survives in the churches which they gathered.* But we must hold in highest honour men like William Durant, of Newcastle; *Yorkshire* Congregationalists like the Marsden brothers (Jeremiah of Ardesley, and Gamaliel of Halifax); Christopher Nesse, of Leeds; and Christopher Marshall, of Topcliffe; and *Lancashire* worthies like Thomas Jollie, of Altham; Richard Astley, of Blackrode; and Cuthbert Harrison, of Singleton. Should we not remember such men as Thomas Harrison, once of Chester Cathedral; John Cromwell, of Claworth; Robert Durant, of Crowle; and Edward Reyner, of Lincoln? Have we nothing to say of Rowland Nevett and Thomas Quarrell, of Oswestry; William Fincher, of Wednesbury; Simon Moore, of Worcester Cathedral; Strickland Negus, of Burton Latimer; John Maidwell, of Kettering; Vincent Alsop, of Wilby; and Camshaw Helmes, of Winchcombe?

Should not the Congregationalists of *Cambridgeshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Hunts* and *Herts*, hold in grateful remembrance Francis Holcroft, Joseph Oddy, Samuel Corbyn and Thomas Lock, not wholly forgetting James Bedford, of Bluntisham; and Nathaniel Partridge, of St. Albans? And what shall we say of that noble band of 75 or 76 who were thrust out in the *Eastern counties*? The brothers Amyrault, Paul of Mundesley, and Christopher of Buckenham; the brothers Worts, of Burningham and Guestwick; Thomas Allen and Enoch Woodward, of Norwich; and William Bridge, of Yarmouth? What of Robert Ottie, of Beccles; the three brothers Manning, in villages around Southwold; William Ames, of Wrentham; and Thomas Taylor, of Bury St. Edmunds, who became Bunyan's chief agent in obtaining licences for himself and his friends under the Indulgence? What of the *Essex* worthies: John Sammes, of Coggeshall; Owen Stockton, of Colchester; John Cole, of Wethersfield, and others like minded? Surely the *London* clergy who were outed in 1662 deserve special mention: Nicholas Lockyer, of St. Bene't Sherehog; George Griffith, of the Charterhouse; Richard Kentish and John Hodges, of St. Katherine's by the Tower, Matthew Barker, of St. Leonard's, Eastcheap; Joseph Caryl, of St. Magnus; Thomas Brooks, of St. Margaret's, New Fish Street, and George Cockayne, of St. Pancras, Sopers Lane.

The Congregationalists of *Kent* should hold in grateful remembrance the great evangelist, Charles Nichols, of Adisham; Thomas Ventress, of St. Margaret's, Canterbury; and Joseph Osborne, of Benenden. *Surrey* should not forget David Clarkson, of Mortlake; or James Fisher, of Fetcham, who settled at Dorking. *Sussex* owes

* Many other names were recited in the paper, for which see the full list annexed.—Ed.

34 Congregationalists and the "Great Ejectment"

something to the memory of Walter Postlethwaite and John Crouch, of Lewes; Christopher Snell, of East Grinstead; and John Willis, of Wool Lavington, afterwards of Chichester. *Hampshire* counts among her worthies Nathaniel Robinson, of Southampton; George Whitmarsh, of Rowner, who settled at Gosport; and John Hook, of Kingsworthy, son of William Hook, of the Savoy, and founder of Congregationalism in Basingstoke. In *Wilts* and *Somerset*, John Frayling, of Compton, who did so much at Devizes; William Hughes, of Marlborough; Philip Hunton, of Westbury; and Henry Butler, of Yeovil, have special claims on any historian of Nonconformity in these counties. In *Dorset*, William Benn, of Dorchester; Joseph Churchill, of Fordington; and Benjamin Way, of West Stafford, were worthy successors to John White, who did so much in organizing the Puritan Colonies in the previous generation; while Philip Lamb, of Beer Regis; Robert Bartlett, of Over Compton, and George Thorne, of Weymouth, did work, the effects of which are seen to the present day. Then, when we turn to *Devon*, the Congregationalists who were ejected there made for themselves a reputation which it would be criminal to allow to die. How can we be silent about the "bright particular star" of Congregationalism, John Howe, of Torrington, Oliver's favourite and faithful chaplain, author of *The Living Temple*? Can we say nothing of Bartholomew Ashwood, of Axminster; Nathaniel Mather, of Barnstaple; John Bartlett, of Fremington, who did so much at Bideford; Theophilus Polwhele, of Tiverton; John Powell, of St. Sidwell's, Exeter; Thomas Martyn, of Plymouth; and the saintly John Flavel, of Dartmouth? And shall we forget those who in *Wales* were destined, after their ejectment, to do so great a work as Congregationalists for the spiritual welfare of their countrymen? To name but a few of many: there are in the north William Jones, of Denbigh; Jonathan Roberts, of Llanfair; Hugh Owen, of Brony Clydwr; in the south, James Davies, of Merthyr; Stephen Hughes, of Mydrym; Henry Williams, of Llantrissant; Daniel Higgs, of Rhosilly; Marmaduke Matthews, of Swansea; Thomas Barnes, of Magor; Walter Prosser, of Tredonock.

The limits of time and space make it impossible, in such a paper as this, to dilate on the work of any; but in a company of experts in Nonconformist history, no doubt the mere names suggest their record to those whose special interest lies in the counties where they wrought and suffered. And these are a mere fraction of the noble band who on Bartholomew's Day, 1662, suffered ejectment rather than do violence to their conscience. Surely it would be a sin and shame, in this year of commemoration, not to recall the life and labours of this great company of Congregational worthies, whose courageous testimony to their convictions was not one whit behind that of the noblest and best of their ejected brethren.

G. LYON TURNER.

Particulars of Congregationalist Ministers ejected in 1660 and 1662

[SOURCES: Cal., Calamy (or Palmer)—*direct* statement in Non-conformist Memorial. Cal*—*indirect* statement in the same. Pal.—Palmer's additions to Calamy. E.R.—Episcopal Returns, 1665 and 1669. L—Licence Documents, 1672 (For both E.R. and L. see "Original Records").]

I.—NORTHERN GROUP.

I. NORTHUMBERLAND (6).

1660	Ralph Ward, Hartborn	Lic. York City, 1672 L
"	John Lomax, Wooler	Lic. genl. in Eptic. of Durham, '72 L
1662	John Darnton, Bedlington	Lic. W. Tanfield, Yorks, '72 L
"	John Thompson, Bothall	'A moderate Congregationalist.' Cal.
"	John Davis, Bywell St. Peter's	'Of the Congregational judgement.' Cal.
"	William Durant, Newcastle	Congregational in his principles.' Cal.

2. DURHAM, *none*.

3. CUMBERLAND (6)

1660	Comfort Starr, Carlisle	Some time fellow of Harvards Cal' Lic. Sandwich '72 L
"	George Larkham, Cockermouth	Conv. at Bridekirk, '69. E.R. Lic. Bridekirk, '72. L
"	Simon Atkinson, Lazonby	Conv. at Heskett, '69. E.R. Lic. Heskett, '72. L
1661?	Gawen Eaglesfield, Plumbland	Lic. Deerham, '72. L
1662	George Nicholson, <i>silenced</i>	'A gathered church'; 'took lic. as a Congl. Minr.' Cal.
"	? Daniel King, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. Derby, '78. L (But ? if same man).

4. WESTMORLAND, *none*

5. YORKSHIRE (18)

1660	Josiah Houldsworth, Sutton	Lic. Heckmondwike '72 L
1662	Jeremiah Marsden, Ardesley	'Inclined to the notions of the Fifth-Monarchists.' Cal.
"	Gamaliel Marsden, Chapel-le-Brears	A moderate Congregationalist.' Cal.
"	Thomas Smallwood, Idle	'A moderate Congregationalist.' Cal.
"	Christopher Nesse, Leeds	Conv. at Cross Stones, '69. E.R. lic. Leeds, '72. L

36 Particulars of Congregationalist Ministers

1662	Richard Whitehurst, Laughton-en-le-Morthen	Lic. West Hall, Hatfield, '72. L
"	Richard Taylor, Long Houghton	Lic. Swath Hall, '72. L
"	John Izott (Issett or Isott), Nun Monkton	Lic. Horbury, '72 L
"	Henry Swift, Penistone	Conv. in Parish Church '69. E.R.
"	Jeremiah Milner, Rothwell	Lic. Houghton '72. L
"	Timothy Wood, Sandall Magna	Conv. at Wanlip, Leic. '69. E.R.
"	John Hobson, Sandall Parva	Lic. Kirk Sandall '72. L
"	John Bonn or Boon, Settrington	Lic. his house at Coventry '72. L.
"	Henry Root, Sowerby Bridge	'He gathered a Congregational Church.' Cal.
"	Christopher Marshall, Whitkirk	'Was a Congregationalist.' Cal.
"	John Gunter, Bedale	Lic. Helauigh Manor '72. L
"	?Matthew Hill, Thirsk	Lic. Rivington, Lanc. '72. L (<i>Doubtful</i>)
"	?William Ashley, Rastrick, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. at Hull '72 L (<i>Doubtful</i>)

6. LANCASHIRE (13)

1662	Thomas Jollie, Altham	Conv. at Darwen '69 E.R.; Lic. Blackburn '72 L
"	Robert Birch, Birch Chapel	Lic. Wilmslow '72 L
"	Richard Astley, Blackrode	'Pastor of a Dissenting Cong. in Hull' Cal.
"	Samuel Mather, Burton Wood	Educated at Harvard Col. Cal. 'A Congl. man' Wood
"	Gabriel Camelford, Cartmel	Lic. Furness Fell and Cartmel '72 L
"	Samuel Eaton, Duckenfield	'Gathered a Congregational Church' Cal.
"	James White, Melling	Lic. Monk's Coppenhall, Ches. '72 L
"	Cuthbert Harrison, Singleton	'Had licence for Elswick Lees as Congl.' Cal.
"	William Lampitt, Ulverston	Lic. Ulverston '72 L
"	Michael Briscoe, Walmsley	'Pastor of a Congl. Church.' Cal.
"	John Parre, Preston, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. Farington, nr. Preston, '72 L.
"	Thomas Key or Kay, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. Entwistle, Lanc. '72 L
"	Nicholas Smith, Tatham	Lic. Long Parish, Hants. '72 L

II.—NORTH MIDLAND GROUP.

1. CHESHIRE (4)

1659-60	John Jones, Marple	'Of the Congl. Persuasion' Cal.
1660	George Moxon, Astbury	'Pastor of a Congl. Church in A' Cal.
1662	Thomas Harrison, Chester Cathedral	Chaplain to Henry Cromwell Cal. Lic. Chester (Indt.) '72 L
"	John Wilson, Backford	Lic. Chester '72 L

2. DERBYSHIRE (4)

?	Samuel Nowell, Ault-Hucknall	Lic. Ashfield, Notts. '72 L
1662	Samuel Wright, Heynor	Lic. Castle Donnington, Leic. '72 L
"	Samuel Charles, Mickleover	Conv. at Findern '69 E.R.; Lic. Chesterfield '72 L
"	Daniel Shelmerdine, Barrow-on-Trent	Conv. at Little Ireton '69 E.R. Lic. Twyford '72 L

3. NOTTINGHAMSHIRE (6)

1661-2	John James, Flintham and Sutton	Conv. at Flintham '69 E.R.; Lic. Flintham and Notting- ham '72 L
1662	John Jackson, Bleaseby	Lic. Morton, Notts. '72 L
"	John Cromwell, Claworth	'Congl. in his judgement' Cal.
"	John Clark, Codgrave	Conv. at Basford '69 E.R.
"	John Trueman, Crumwell	Conv. at Burton Joyce '69 E.R.; Appl. for Lic. at Burton Joyce '72 L
"	Thomas Ogle, Roulston	'Congl. in his judgement' Cal.

4. LINCOLNSHIRE (9)

1660	Edward Reyner, Lincoln	'His judgement was for the Congregational way' Cal.
"	George Scortwreth, Lincoln	'Mr. Reyner's colleague' Cal'
1662	Mr. Anderson, Boston	'His principles were Congl.' Cal.
"	Robert Durant, Crowle	Lic. Sheffield '72 L
"	James Ryther, Frodingham and Bromby	Lic. Thornton, Bradford, '72 L
"	Mark Trickett, Gate Burton	Lic. Kirk Sandall Hall, Yorks '72 L
"	Robert Alford, Ludborough	Lic. Walsoken, Norf. '72 L
"	Robert Cramlinton, Manby	Lic. Tetney '72 L
"	Martyn Finch, Totney	'Pastor of a congregation in the City of Norwich' Cal.

5. RUTLAND, *none*

6. LEICESTERSHIRE (8)

1660	John Yaxley, Kibworth	Lic. Holborn, London, '72 L
1662	Thomas Longdale, Bowden Magna	Lic. Caldecott '72 L
"	Joseph Lee, Cottesbach	Conv. at Calthorpe '69 E.R.
"	Thomas Smith, Castle Donnington	Lic. Wanlip Grange '72 L
"	Nicholas Kestyn, Gumley	'Pastor of a Congregation in Leicester' Cal'
"	Thomas Lowrey, Harborough	Conv. at Coggeshall, Essex, '69 E.R.; lic. at Coggeshall, '72 L
"	Richard Adams, Humberstone	Lic. Mount Sorrell '72 L
"	William Smith, Packington	Conv. at Hucklescote '69 E.R. Lic. at Castle Donnington '72 L

7. STAFFORDSHIRE (6)

1662 ?	Thomas Buxton, Tattenhall	Conv. at Shuttington '69 E.R.; Lic. Tamworth and Coventry '72 L
"	Thomas Bakewell, Burton-on-Trent	Conv. Burton-on-Trent '69 E.R. Lic. Burton-on-Trent and Longdon '72 L
"	Henry Bee, Hanbury	Conv. at Burton-on-Trent '69 E.R. Lic. Stapenhill, Dorset '72 L
"	William Turton, Rowley	Conv. at Wednesbury '69 E.R.
"	Richard Hinks, Tipton	Lic. Darlaston and Stafford '72 L
"	William Fincher, Wednesbury	'A moderate Independent' Cal. Conv. at Wednesbury '69 E.R.

8. SALOP (7)

1660	Rowland Nevet, Oswestry	Conv. at Oswestry '69 E.R.; Lic. Weston and Oswestry '72 L
"	Samuel Campion, Hodnet	Conv. at Nuneaton and Drainton, Warwick '69 E.R.

38 Particulars of Congregationalist Ministers

1662	Titus Thomas, Aston	'Fixed pastor of a Congl. Church at Salop' Pal.
"	Timothy Thomas, Morton	Lic. Sweeney '72 L
"	Henry Maurice, Stretton	Lic. Acton Round '73 L
"	Thomas Quarrell, Oswestry, <i>not fixed</i>	'First pastor at the Cong Church at Shrewsbury' Pal.
"	William Phipps, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. Marton '73 L

III.—SOUTH-MIDLAND GROUP.

I. HEREFORDSHIRE (1)

1662	John Skinner, Weston Panyard	Lic. Clearwell, Glos. '72 L
------	------------------------------	-----------------------------

2. WORCESTERSHIRE (6)

1660	John Spilsbury, Bromsgrove	Lic. Bromsgrove '72 L
?	Simon Moor, Worcester Cathedral	'Baxter says he was an old Independent' Pal.
1662	John [<i>Cal.</i> William] Westmacote, Crophorne	Lic. Broadway '72 L
"	Richard Fincher, Worcester All Saints and St. Nicholas	'Pastor of a Congregation in London' Cal*
"	Thomas Juice, Worcester St. Martin's	'Pastor of a Congregation at Reading' Cal*
"	John Ward, Harrington	Lic. Eckington '72 L

3. WARWICKSHIRE (4)

1660	Josiah Basset, Exhall	'Pastor of a congregation at Woolwich' Cal*
1662	Jonathan Grew, Caldecote	'Pastor of a congregation at St. Albans, Herts' Cal*
"	Samuel Basnet, Coventry St. Michaels	'A small number of people here, being Congregational, chose him for their pastor' Cal.
"	Anthony Collier, Whitacre	(? Abel C., lic. Coventry '72) L

4. NORTHANTS (11)

1660	John Baynard, Burton Latimer	Lic. Isham '72 L
1662	Nathaniel Whiting, Aldwinkle	Lic. at Cranford and Tichmarsh '72 L
"	Strickland Negus, Chester (? Irchester)	Lic. Wellingborough '72 L
"	Richard Hook, Creaton	Lic. Northampton '72 L
"	Thomas Browning, Desborough	Member of Congl. Church at Coggeshall; aft. pastor at Rothwell Pal. Lic. Rothwell '73 L
"	John Maidwell, Kettering	Lic. Kettering '72 L
"	Richard Resbury, Oundle	Lic. Oundle '72 L
"	John Courtman, Thorp Malzover	Lic. Thorpe Malsor '73 L
"	Vincent Alsop, Wilby	Lic. Geddington '72 L
"	William Lloyd, Woodford	Lic. Ipswich '72 L
"	John Fido, Whittlebury	'Was strictly Congregational in his judgement' Cal.

5. GLOUCESTERSHIRE (16)

1660	James Forbes, Gloucester Cathedral	'In judgement a strict Calvinist and Congregational' Cal.
1660	John Dunce, Hasleton	Lic. Bourton-on-the-Water '73 L
"	Richard Flavel, Willersbury	Father of John Flavel, of Dartmouth. Cal*

1660-61	Increase Mather, Gloucester	'Student and afterwards president of Harvard's Col., N.E. Some time asst. to John Howe' Cal'
1661-2	Anthony Palmer, Bourton-on-the-Water	'Of the Congl. Persuasion' Cal. Lic. London Bridge '72 L
1662	Francis Harris, Deerhurst	Lic. Painswick '72 L
"	Jonathan Smith, Hempsted	Lic. Tetbury '72 L
"	William Becket, Compton	Lic. Winchcombe '72 L
"	Thomas Smith, Longhope	Lic. Longhope '72 L ? if Baptist
"	William Davison, Notgrave	Lic. Tewkesbury '72 L 'Pastor of a cong. in Cambden' Cal'
"	William Tray, Oddington	Lic. Oddington '72 L
"	William Beale, Stow-on-the-Wold	Lic. Cripplegate, London '72 L
"	Francis Haine, Thornbury	Lic. Dursley '72 L
"	Edward Rogers, Westcot	'Died pastor of a congregation at Chelmsford' Cal'
"	Camshaw Helmes, Winchcombe	Fifth Monarchy man: 'Hath a great influence upon the gathered churches'— <i>Spy Book, Transactions</i> V. 249
"	Joshua Head, Bishop's Cleeve	'Of the Baptist denomination' Cal. Lic. Bishop's Cleeve '72 L

6. OXFORDSHIRE (13)

1660	Dr. Ralph Button, Oxford, Canon of Christ Church	Conv. at Kingston '69 E.R.
"	Dr. George Porter, do. do.	'A sort of Independent' Cal.
"	Dr. John Singleton, Oxford, Student of Christ Church	'Pastor of Independent church at Coventry' Cal.
"	Thomas Sayer, Oxford, Corpus Christi College	Lic. Gracechurch Street, London '72 L
"	Thankful Owen, Oxford, President of St. John's College	Chosen to succeed Dr. Goodwin Cal'
"	Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Oxford, President of Magdalen College	'Formed a church on the Independent plan' Cal.
"	Thophilus Gale, Oxford, Fellow of Magdalen College	Successor of John Rowe Cal'
"	Humphrey Gunter, Oxford, Fellow of Magdalen College	Conv. at Pusey '69 E.R.
"	Thomas Cole, Oxford, St. Mary's Hall	Lic. at Henley '72 L 'Took charge of a large cong. in London' Cal.
"	Francis Johnson, Oxford, University College	'One of Oliver's chaplains' Cal' Lic. in Gray's Inn Lane, London '72 L
1662	Stephen Ford, Chipping Norton	'Pastor of Congl. church in Miles Lane, London' Cal. Lic. there '72 L
"	William Smith, Swinbrook	Lic. Child's Wickham, Gos. '72 L
"	Robert Rogers, Silsam	'Abettor of Conv. at Hungerford' '69 E.R. Lic. Oxford '72 L

7. BUCKS (1)

1660	Henry Goodeare or Goodyear, Hambleton	'Dr. W. says he was an Independent' Cal.
------	--	--

40 Particulars of Congregationalist Ministers

IV.—EASTERN COUNTIES.

I. HUNTINGDONSHIRE (2)

1662	James Bedford, Bluntisham	Son of James Bedford Inde. Cal'
"	Oliver Scott, Cherry Orton	Conv. at Toft '69 E.R. Lic. Ashwell '72 L

2. BEDFORDSHIRE (2)

1660	Samuel Fairclough, Houghton Conquest	Lic. at Chippenham '73 L
1662	John Donne, Pertenhall	Lic. at Keysoe L

3. HERTFORDSHIRE (7)

1660	William Haworth, St. Albans, (St. Peter's)	'Lived with a congregation at Hertford' Cal*
"	John Wilson, Kimpton	Lic. Little Halingbury '73 L
"	Isaac Bedford, Willion	Lic. Clifton, Beds. '72 L
1661	Nathaniel Eeles, Harpenden	Lic. Harpenden '72 L
1662	Nathaniel Partridge, St. Albans, (St. Michael's)	Conv. in Old Street, London '69 E.R. Lic. in Old Street '72 L
"	William Sherwin, Baldock	
"	William Tutty, Totteridge	Conv. at Chipping Barnet '69 E.R. Lic. Cheshunt '72 L

4. CAMBRIDGESHIRE (11)

1660	Francis Holcroft, Camb. Fellow of Clare Hall	'Of the Congregational judge- ment' Cal.
"	— Wildbore, do. do.	? i.q. Mr. Wilborne Conv. Yar- mouth '69 E.R.
"	Robert Brinsley, Emmanuel College, Camb.	Lic. Dedham '72 L
"	James Day, do. do.	'Pastor to part of Holcroft's people' Cal* Lic. March '72 L
1661	Dr. Hutcheson, Camb. Fellow of Trinity College	'Congregational in his judge- ment' Cal.
1662	Joseph Oddy, do.	'Asst. to Mr. Holcroft' Cal* Conv. in var. places '69 E.R.
"	Samuel Corbyn, do.	'Of the Congregational denomi- nation' Cal.
"	Robert Ekins, Camb. do.	Lic. Twywell, Northants, '72 L
"	Samuel Ponder, do. do.	'Concerned in Mr. Holcroft's ordination' Pal.
"	Thomas Lock, do. do.	Conv. at Meldreth '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
"	Nathaniel Alcock, do. do.	Lic. Ford End, Beds. '72 L

5. NORFOLK (30)

1660	William Sheldrake, Reepham	Conv. Guestwick, etc. '69 E.R. Lic. Yarmouth '72 L
1660?	John Cory, Walcot	Lic. Norwich '73 L
1662	Robert Purt, Barford	Conv. at Wood Norton '69 E.R. Lic. Barford '72 L
"	John Lougher, Beconthorp	'Became minister of a Congl. Church' Cal.
"	Christopher Amyrault, Buckenham	'Pastor of a Congl. Church' Cal.
"	Thomas Worts, Burningham	'Pastor of a congregation at Guestwick' Cal.

1662	James Gedney, Carlton	Conv. at Bunwell '69 E.R.
"	Thomas Lawson, Denton	Conv. at Norton and Bury St. Edm. '69 E.R. Lic. Norton '72 L
"	Richard More, Diss	Conv. at Diss '69 E.R.
"	Richard Vine or Vin, Drayton	Lic. Stratton St. Michael '72 L
"	Richard Worts, Foulsham and Guestwick	'Pastor of a Congl. Church' Pal.
"	John Hooker, Greatwich	Conv. at Wood Norton '69 E.R.
"	Thomas Newman, Heydon	Lic. Cawston '72 L
"	Paul Amyrault, Mundesley	Brother of Christopher A. (C)
"	Robert Bidbank, Mundesley	Conv. at Wood Norton '69 E.R.
"	Israel Shipdam, Nayton	Lic. Oxwick '72 L
"	Thomas Allen, Norwich (St. George)	'Pastor of the Cong. Church there' Pal.
"	Enoch Woodward do. do.	Conv. at Norwich '69 E.R. Lic. Norwich '72 L
"	John Hasbart, do. do.	
"	Thomas Benton, Pulham	Conv. Bury St. Edmunds '69 E.R. Lic. Wattisfield '72 L
"	William Bidbank, Scotto	'Pastor of a Cong. at Denton, Cal'
"	John Lucas, Stalham	Conv. Yarmouth '69 E.R. Lic. Norwich '72 L
"	Thomas Benton, junr., Stratton St. Michael	
"	John Green, senr., Tipton (? Tibenham)	Conv. at Trunch '69 E.R. Lic. Dickleboro' '72 L
"	Richard Lawrence, Trunch	'Assistant to M. Mead at Stepney' 'Solicited to succeed Dr. Owen' Cal'
"	John Green, junr., Tunstead	'Moderately Congregational in his judgement' Cal.
"	John Mony, Wymondham	Conv. at Besthorpe, etc. '69 E.R. Lic. Wymondham '72 L
"	William Bridge, Yarmouth	'He was strictly Congl.' Cal.
1662 or 3	John Horne, Lynn (All Hallows)	Conv. at Lynn '69 E.R. Lic. at Lynn '72 L
1663	Job Tookie, Yarmouth	'Gathered a Congl. Church' Cal.

6. SUFFOLK (28)

1661	Samuel Peyto, Sandcroft	'Pastor of a congregation at Sudbury' Cal'
1662	Thomas Waterhouse, Ash Bocking	Appl. for licence '72 L
"	Thomas Holborough, Battisford	Conv. at Rattlesden '69 E.R. Lic. Battisford '72 L
"	Robert Ottie, Beccles	'Was Congl. in his judgement' Cal.
"	Robert Smith, Blythborough	Lic. Westleton '72 L
"	Thomas Taylor, Bury St. Edmunds	Succeeded Mr. Holcroft at Cambridge Cal'
"	John King, Debenham	'A Congregationalist' Cal.
"	Thomas Spatchett, Dunwich	Lic. Cookley '72 L
"	Edward Barker, Eye	'Receiving assistance from some Congregational ministers, he fell in with them' Cal. Lic. Yarmouth '72 L
"	Francis Crow, Hundon	Pastor at Clare, wh. was a Congregational Church Cal' Conv. at Bury St. Edmunds '69 E.R.
"	Benjamin Stoneham, Ipswich	'Became pastor of a Gathered Church' Cal'
"	Samuel Fairclough, Keddington	Lic. Chippenham, Camb. '72 L

42 Particulars of Congregationalist Ministers

1662	Edmund Whincop, Layston	'Pastor of a Congl. Church at Wattisfield' Cal.
"	John Stronghier, St. Margarets	Lic. Cookley '72 L
"	William Manning, Middleton	Lic. Peasenhall '72 L
"	Thomas James, Needham Market	'Of the Congl. persuasion' Cal.
"	John Manning, Peasenhall	Lic. Peasenhall '72 L
"	Samuel Habergham, Syleham	'Of the Congregational way' Cal.
"	Joseph Waite†, Sprowton	Elder of Mr. Holcroft's church Cal*
	"Sproughton"	
"	Robert Asty, Stratford	Conv. var. pl. '69 E.R. Lic. Bury St. Edmunds '72 L
"	John Starke, Stradbroke	Lic. Syleham, Wingfield, etc. '72 L
"	William Folkes, Sudbury	Succeeded Owen Stockton at Colchester. Cal*
"	Samuel Manning, Walpole	'Founded the dissenting interest there' (which was always Congregational). Pal* Lic. there '72 L
"	Frederick Woodall, Woodbridge	'A strict Independent' Cal.
"	William Ames, Wrentham	'Of the Independent denomination' Cal.
"	Augustine Plumstead, Wrentham	'Pastor of a Congl. church' Cal.
"	Zephaniah Smith, Wickham Market	Lic. Stepney '72 L
"	? Nathaniel Fairfax, Willisham	Younger brother to John F. of Barking. Cal*

7. ESSEX (14)

1660	Geo. Moxon, junr., Radwinter	Son of G. Moxon of Cheshire. Cal*
"	John Cole, Wethersfield	In gaol for pr. at Wethersfield '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
1662	Samuel Brinsley, Alphamston	Lic. at Dedham '72 L
"	John Samms, Coggeshall	Succeeded Dr. John Owen and 'Gathered a church' Cal* Conv. at Coggeshall '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L.
"	Owen Stockton, Colchester (St. Andrew's)	Conv. Colchester, etc. '69 E.R. Lic. Colchester '72 L
"	William Sparrow, Halstead	'Early in declaring for the Congl. discipline' Cal.
"	John Warren, Hatfield Broad Oak	Conv. Hatfield '69 E.R. Lic. Hatfield Regis '72 L
"	Henry Havers, Stambourne	Conv. Stambourne '69 E.R. Lic. Ipswich '72 L
"	Thomas Clark, Stisted	Lic. Dunmow '72 L
"	Richard Rand, Mark's Tey	'Pastor of a congregation at Little Baddow' Cal* Lic. Boxted '72 L
"	John Stalham, Terling	'Of strict Congl. principles' Cal.
"	Dr. Leonard Hoar, Wanstead	Of Harvard College; afterwards president there. Pal*
"	James Small, Yaxley	Chaplain to Lord Massarene in succession to Howe
"	Henry Lukin, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. Matching '72 L

V.—SOUTH-EASTERN GROUP.

I. BERKS. (3)

1660	Hezekiah Woodward, Bray	'Walker says he was a violent Independent' Cal.
"	Dr. James Baron, Hendred	'One of the publishers of Dr. Goodwin's works' Cal*
1662	? Daniel Reyner, Purley	(Probably some relation of Edward R.)

† John Browne, in his *History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*, p. 150, questions the accuracy of Calamy's statement as to his ejection.

2. MIDDLESEX (7)

1660	Thomas Elford, Acton	'A moderate Independent' Cal
"	Thomas Gilbert, Ealing	'The first of the ministers that suffered deprivation in the cause of Nonconformity'; see his epitaph Cal* Lic. Oxford '72 L
1662	Edward Swift, Edgware	'Was led away with the Fifth Monarchy notion' Cal*
"	Edward Terry, Gt. Greenford	Conv. at Chalfont St. Giles '69 E.R. Lic. Chalfont '72 L. Assistant to Chauncey at Mark Lane.
"	Francis Wareham, Hendon	Lic. at Cheshunt '72 L
"	Matthew Mead, Shadwell	Assistant and successor to Greenhill at Stepney, Cal* Conv. at Stepney and Wapping '69 E.R.
"	William Greenhill, Stepney	One of the Dissenting Brethren at the Westminster Assembly Cal* Conv. at Stepney '69 E.R. Lic. Wapping '72 L

2A. LONDON (28)

1660	Samuel Dyer, All Hallows on the Wall	'Congregational in his judgment' Cal.
"	Henry Jessey, St. George's, Southwark	'Succeeded Lothrop as pastor of H. Jacob's church' Cal*
"	Philip Nye, St. Bartholomew Exchange	'One of the dissenting brethren.' 'Had a principal hand in arranging the meeting at the Savoy (1658)' Cal*
"	Nicholas Lockyer, St. Bene't Sherehog	Conv. Spitalfields, '69 E.R.
"	John Rowe, Westminster Abbey	'Pastor of the cong. which Mr Strong had gathered' Cal*
"	William Hook, The Savoy	Lic. to pr. in Spital-Yard '72 L
"	Jeremiah White	'Household chaplain to Oliver Cromwell' Cal*
"	George Griffith, Charter House	'An Independent in principle' Cal.
"	Thomas Brooks, St. Margaret, New Fish Street	'Gathered a church in the Congl. way' Cal.
"	William Bereman, St. Thomas, Southwark	Conv. in Mill Lane, Southwark '69 E.R. Lic. Leadenhall St. '72 L
"	Mr. Cobb, do. do.	Spy Book, see <i>Trans.</i> , v. 247
1662	Robert Bragg, All Hallows the Great	'Gathered a church of wh. he contd. pastor, etc.' Cal*
"	John Loder, St. Bartholomew Exchange	Lic. (asst. to Nye) in Cherry Tree Alley '72 L
"	Samuel Lee, St. Botolph, Bishopgate	'Min. of an indept. cong. at Newington Green' Cal.
"	John Biscoe, St. George, Southwark	Lic. West Wickham, Berks '72 L
"	Richard Kentish, St. Katharine, Tower	Conv. at Wapping '69 E.R. Lic. Wapping '72 L
"	John Hodges, do. do.	Lic. in Bethnal Green '72 L
"	Matthew Barker, St. Leonard's, Eastcheap	Lic. Duke's Place '72 L
"	Joseph Caryl, St. Magnus	'A moderate Independent' Cal.
"	Dr. Nathaniel Holmes, St. Mary Staining	Lic. Horseshoe Alley, Moorfields- '72 L
"	Thomas Mallery, St. Michael's, Crooked Lane	Colleague with Carter
"	Mr. Carter, do. do.	Conv. Colnbrook '69 E.R. Lic. Southwark '72 L

44 Particulars of Congregationalist Ministers

1662	Ralph Venning, St. Olave, Southwark	Lic. Eastcheap '72 L
"	George Cockayne, St. Pancras, Soper Lane	'Pastor of a Congl. church in the City' Cal.
"	Samuel King, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. 'genl. Congl. teacher' '72 L
"	Richard Wavel, <i>silenced</i>	'Of Congl. principles' Cal.
"	John Goodwin, (<i>disqualified</i>)	'An Independent' Pal.
"	Dr. John Owen, <i>silenced</i>	'Considered the Congl. plan most agreeable to the New Test.' Cal.

3. KENT (10)

1660	John Durant, Canterbury Cathedral	Conv. in Canterbury '69 E.R. Lic. for Almrery Hall, C. '72 L
1662	Charles Nichols, Adisham and Barming	Conv. at Sandwich '69 E.R. Lic. Adisham '72 L
"	Joseph Osborne, Benenden	Lic. Brighton '72 L
"	Thomas Ventress, Canterbury, St. Margaret's	'Gathered a congregation' Cal* Lic Canterbury '72 L
"	William Rolls, Folkestone	Lic. Pinner, Middlesex '73 L
"	Robert Ferguson, Godmersham	'Was asst. to Dr. Owen' Cal*
"	? Edward Rawson, Horsmonden	'Walker says he was a New England man and a violent Presbyterian; wh. if true is a little peculiar' Cal.
"	Thomas Hemmings, Lydd	Lic. Dalehurst '73 L
"	Joseph Whiston, Maidstone	'Congregational in his judge- ment' Cal.
"	Edward Alexander, Wickham	Lic. St. Martin Orgar's, Lond. '72 L

4. SURREY (2)

1660	James Fisher, Fetcham	Conv. at Dorking '69 E.R. Lic. Dorking '72 L
1662	David Clarkson, Mortlake	Co-pastor and successor of Dr. J. Owen Pal.

5. SUSSEX (13)

1660	Henry Godman, Radmill	'Pastor to a congregation at Deptford' Cal*
1662	Richard Garrett, Bar Lavington	Conv. at Stedham, Midhurst, etc. '69 E.R. Lic. Midhurst '72 L
"	Richard Wilson, Billingshurst	Conv. Thakeham '69 E.R.
"	John Abbott, Fishbourn	Lic. West Stoke '73 L
"	John Ridge, Funtington	Lic. Hayling Island '72 L
"	Christopher Snell, East Grinstead	Conv. East Grinstead '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
"	John Lover, Hailsham	Conv. Hailsham and Brighton '69 E.R. Lic. Hailsham and Lewes '73 L
"	Robert Park, Lavant	'Congregational in his judge- ment' Cal.
"	Walter Postlethwaite, Lewes, St. Michael's	'Congregational in his judge- ment' Cal.
"	John Stonestreet, Lindfield	'One of the Congl. ministers who met at the Savoy' Cal.
"	? Henry Staples, South Stoke	
"	John Crouch, Lewes	Lic. Lewes and Whites Alley, Cripplegate '73 L
"	John Willis, Wool Lavington	Lic. Chichester '72 L

6. HAMPSHIRE (12)

1660	Henry Coxe, Bishopstoke	'Congregational in his judgment' Cal.
"	John Crofts, Mottistone	Chaplain to Lady Lisleat Moyle's Court '69 E.R. Lic. Newton Tony, Wilts '72 L
"	Urian (? Urijah) Oakes, Tichfield	'Of the Independent denomination' Pal.
1662	John Yates, Binstead (Alton)	Lic. Binstead '72 L
"	John Hook, Kingsworthy	'Pastor of a Dissenting Cong. at Basingstoke' Cal*
"	Richard Upjohn, Ripley	Lic. Weston, Southampton '72 L
"	Nathaniel Robinson, Southampton	Lic. Southampton and Romsey '72 L
	All Saints	Pastor of a cong. of Dissenters. Cal*
"	Giles Say, Southampton, St. Michael's	Conv. at Southampton '69 E.R. Lic. at Southampton '72 L
"	Richard Symonds, South Week	'Colleague with U. Oakes' Pal.
"	John Martin, Yarmouth, I. of Wight	Lic. Yarmouth, I.W. '72 L
"	Samuel Sprint, South Tidworth	Conv. at Andover '69 E.R. Lic. Lower Clatford '72 L
"	George Whitemarsh, Rowner	Conv. Gosport '69 E.R. Lic. Gosport '72 L

VI.—SOUTH-WESTERN COUNTIES.

I. WILTSHIRE (10)

1660	Dr. Thomas Baylie, Mildenhall	'Had a private congregation; Dr. W. says he was a Fifth Monarchy man' Cal*
"	William Troughton, Salisbury,	Lic. Bristol '72 L
"	St. Martin's	
"	John Barcroft, Broughton	'He was a warm Independent' Cal.
"	Thomas Taylor, Burbage	Conv. at Newton Tony, etc. '69 E.R.
1662	Obadiah Wills, Alton Priors	Lic. at Devizes '72 L
"	John Frayling, Compton	Conv. at Devizes '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
"	William Hughes, Marlborough	Gathered a church after ejection' Cal* Conv. there '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
"	John Oldham, Newton	'Pastor of a small congregation of Dissenters at Wotton-under-Edge' Cal*
"	William Eyre, Salisbury	'Schismatically inclined' Dr. W.
"	Phillip Hunton, Westbury	Conv. at Westbury '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L

2. SOMERSET (6)

1662	Jeremiah Littlejohn, Bratton Seymour	Conv. at North Cheriton '69 E.R. Lic. North Cadbury '72 L
"	William Thomas, Bristol, <i>silenced</i>	
"	George Pearse, North Curry	Conv. at Stoke St. Mary and Bridgwater '69 E.R. Lic. North Cheriton '72 L
"	Thomas Willis, Heathfield	Lic. Pitney and Montacute '72 L
"	? Jeremiah French, South Parrett	Conv. at Crewkerne and Merriott '69 E.R. Appl. for lic. Bradford Abbas. '72 L
"	Henry Butler, Yeovil	Conv. Kingsbury, Yeovil, etc. '69 E.R. Lic. Yeovil and Maiden Bradley '72 L

46 Particulars of Congregationalist Ministers

3. DORSET (10)

1660	William Allein or Allen, Blandford	'Gathered a church here' 1653 Cal*. Conv. at Horningsham, etc. '69 E.R.
"	John Eaton, Bridport	Lic. Templecombe '72 L
1662	Philip Lamb, Bere Regis	'Invited by a congregation at Clapham' Cal* Lic. East Morden '72 L
"	William Benn, Dorchester	Conv. at Fordington '69 E.R. Lic. Dorchester '72 L
"	Joshua Churchill, Fordington	Conv. at Fordington '69 E.R. Lic. Dorchester '72 L
"	Richard Down, Tarrant Monkton	Lic. Bridport '72 L
"	Robert Bartlet, Over Compton	'Of the Congl. persuasion' Cal. Conv. at O. Compton '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
"	Benjamin Way, West Stafford	Lic. Dorchester '72 L
"	George Thorne, Weymouth and Radipole	Lic. Weymouth and Melcombe '72 L
"	John Wesley, Whitchurch	Conv. at North Cheriton, Som. '69 E.R.

4. DEVON (18)

1660	Lewis Stuckley, Exeter Cathedral	Gathered a church in the Congregational way' Cal.
"	Thomas Mall, do.	Conv. in Exeter '65, and at Cruwys Morchard '69 E.R. Lic. South Molton '72 L
"	William Bailey, Stoke Fleming	
"	Theophilus Polwheile, Tiverton	Conv. at Tiverton '65; conv. at Cruwys Morchard '69 E.R.; lic. Tiverton '72 L
"	Nathaniel Mather, Barnstaple	'Pastor of a Congl. church' Cal.
"	William Bartlett, Bideford	Author of <i>The Model of the Congregational way</i> . Cal.
"	John Bartlet, Fremington	'Contracted a most endearing intimacy with Mr. Howe' Cal* Lic. Bideford '72 L
1662	Bartholomew Ashwood, Axminster	Lic. Axminster '72 L
"	Oliver Peard, Barnstaple	Lic. Barnstaple '72 L
"	James Burdwood, Dartmouth, St. Petrock's	Conv. at Dartmouth '65 E.R. Lic. Bigbury '72 L
"	Allan Geare do. St. Saviour	Intimate friend of John Howe Cal*
"	John Flavel do. St. Clement's	Conv. at Dartmouth '65 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
"	Thomas Powell, Exeter, St. Sidwell's	'He was of the Congl. persuasion' Cal.
"	Thomas Down, do. St. Edmund's	(Died 1665)
"	John Howe, Great Torrington	Member of Goodwin's 'gathered church' while at Oxford. Cal.
"	Thomas Wellman, Luppitt	Lic. Stout, '72 L
"	Ralph Spragge (or Sprake)	Associated with L. Stuckley, etc. Cal*
"	Thomas Martyn, Plymouth	Lic. Plymouth '72 L

5. CORNWALL, none

VIIA.—WALES, NORTH.

1. ANGLESEY, none

2. CARNARVON (1)

1662	John Williams, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. Tynycoed, Langlan '72 L
------	--------------------------------	------------------------------

3. DENBIGH (3)

1662	William Jones, Denbigh	Lic. Plas Teg '72 L
"	Richard Taylor, Holt	'Pastor of a congregation at Barking' Cal*
"	Jonathan Roberts, Llanfair	Lic. Llanfair '72 L

4. FLINT, *none*

5. MERIONETH (1)

1662	Hugh Owen, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. Llanegryn '72 L
------	----------------------------	----------------------

6. MONTGOMERY (1)

1662	Hugh Rogers, Newtown	Lic. Welshpool '72 L
------	----------------------	----------------------

VII B.—WALES, SOUTH.

7. CARDIGAN (5)

1660	Charles Price, Cardigan	Lic. Hammersmith '72 L
1662	David Jones, Llanbadarnfawr	Lic. Pencarreg '72 L
"	Evan Hughes, Llandevriog	Lic. Cellan '72 L
"	John Hanmer, <i>silenced</i>	'Preached to a private cong.' Cal.
"	Morgan Howell, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. Llanbadarn Odwyn '72 L

8. RADNOR (2)

1662	John Weaver, Knell	Minister of a small congregation at Hereford Cal*
"	Richard Swaine, <i>silenced</i>	Reported at Clyro '65 E.R.

9. BRECKNOCK, *none*

10. PEMBROKE (3)

1660	Peregrine Phillips, Llangon and Fresthorp	Lic. Haverfordwest '72 L
1662	Adam Hawkins, St. Ismael's	Mentioned in E.R. '65
"	John Luntley, Llanstadwell	'Asst. to Mr. Phillips' Cal*

II. CARMARTHEN (2)

1662	James Davies, Merthyr	Lic. Cardigan '72 L
"	Stephen Hughes, Mydrym	Lic. Llanstephan '72 L

* Palmer says: 'Served the Congregation at Kellan.'

48 Particulars of Congregationalist Ministers

12. GLAMORGAN (7)

1660	John Powell, St. Lythan's	Conv. at Eglwysilan, etc. '69 E.R. Lic. Newport '73 L
1661	Daniel Higgs, Rhossilly	Pastor of a Dissenting Cong. at Swansea ' Cal*
1662	Henry Williams, Llantrissant	Lic. Merthyr Tydvil '72 L
"	William Thomas, St. Mary Church	Conv. at Merthyr Tydvil, Llan- trissant, etc. '69 E.R.
"	Marmaduke Matthews, Swansea	Lic. Swansea '72 L
"	Robert Thomas, Baglan, <i>silenced</i>	Conv. at Baglan '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
"	Jacob Christopher, Maudlins, <i>silenced</i>	Lic. Kenfig '72 L

13. MONMOUTH (9)

1660	Mr. Rogers, Caerwent	Conv. at Newport '69 E.R.
"	Walter Prosser, Tredonock	Conv. at Newport and Llangibi '69 E.R.
1662	George Robinson, Caerleon	Lic. Llantrissant '72 L
"	Owen Morgan, Llanafaring	Lic. Baguilly '72 L
"	Walter Williams, Llanvapley	Conv. at Llangibi '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
"	Thomas Barnes, Magor	Conv. at Caerleon '69 E.R. Lic. Magor '72 L
"	Henry Walker, Newport	Conv. at Caerleon '69 E.R. Lic. Park-y-pill, Caerleon '72 L
"	William Milman, Trelech	Conv. at Llangwv '69 E.R. Lic. there '72 L
"	Watkin Jones, <i>not settled</i>	'Chosen pastor of a Dissenting Congregation' Cal.*

VIII.—ADDENDA.

1662	John Collins, Chaplain to Genl. Monk	'Pastor of a considerable Inde- pendent ch. in London' Cal.
"	John Faldo, Army Chaplain	'Pastor of a congregation in London' Cal*
"	Francis Mence, not settled	Lic. Fareham '72 L
"	John Evans, Itinerant in Wales	'Pastor of an Independent ch. at Wrexham' Cal.

SUMMARY.

NORTHERN COUNTIES :	Northumberland 6 ;	Cumberland 6 ;	Westmoreland 0 ;	Durham 0 ;	Yorkshire 18 ;	Lan- cashire 13	-	-	-	-	43
NORTH MIDLANDS :	Cheshire 4 ;	Derbyshire 4 ;	Nottingham- shire 6 ;	Lincolnshire 9 ;	Leicestershire 8 ;	Rutland 0 ;	Staffordshire 6 ;	Salop 7	-	-	44
SOUTH MIDLANDS :	Herefordshire 1 ;	Worcestershire 6 ;	Warwickshire 4 ;	Northants 11 ;	Gloucestershire 16 ;	Oxfordshire* 13 ;	Bucks 1	-	-	-	52

ejected in 1660 and 1662 49

EASTERN COUNTIES: Huntingdonshire 2; Bedfordshire 2; Herts 7; Cambridgeshire* 11; Norfolk 30; Suffolk 28; Essex 14	-	-	-	-	94
SOUTH-EASTERN COUNTIES: Berkshire 3; Middlesex 7; London (including Southwark) 28; Kent 10; Surrey 2; Sussex 13; Hants (including Isle of Wight) 12	-	-	-	-	75
SOUTH-WESTERN COUNTIES: Wilts 10; Somerset (including Bristol) 6; Dorset 10; Devon 18; Cornwall 0	-	-	-	-	44
WALES: Northern Counties 6; Southern Counties 19; Monmouthshire 9	-	-	-	-	34
CALAMY'S ADDENDA	-	-	-	-	4
				Total	360

Particulars obtained from Calamy—direct statements	-	77
“ “ “ indirect, or implication	-	58
“ “ “ Palmer's additions to Calamy	-	16
“ “ “ Original Records	-	222
“ “ “ various and doubtful cases	-	17
	Total	390

As nearly as can be ascertained, 85 of these were ejected by the legislation of 1660, and the remaining 305 by the Act of Uniformity.

[The figures in the summary, since revised, differ very slightly from those in the paper. It seems likely that a considerable number of men of whom Calamy and Palmer give no particulars, and whose names do not appear in the Episcopal Returns or Licence Documents, were also Congregationalists.—*Ed.*]

* Including the Universities.

A Note on Penry's Last Years

IN Mr. Champlin Burrage's valuable volumes on *The Early English Dissenters*, he refers (vol. i, p. 151) to two so-called letters of Penry's, published by a later editor in the sixth edition (1661) of Ephraim Paget's *Heresiography*: the first "written from Edinburgh in Scotland Apr. 30 In 34th of the Queen," *i.e.*, in 1592; and the second "written also from Edinburgh in Scotland March 1 In 33th of the Queen," *i.e.*, in 1591*; and he remarks that these two dates "entirely invalidate" the opinion expressed in my article on "The Last Years of Penry," published in the *Transactions*, Sept., 1907. As it appears to me that Mr. Burrage does not fully bear in mind what those opinions are, as expressed in the article and repeated in somewhat more detail in my volume *John Penry and other Heroes*, I may perhaps be allowed succinctly to present them again.

1. I start with the definite entry in the Calendar of State Papers (Scotland): "Dec. 18, 1590, Penry departed," corroborated by the letter of Robert Bowes, preserved in our Record Office. With this letter a varied correspondence between England and Scotland, bearing on the pursuit and threatened seizure of Penry in Scotland, closes. The correspondence drops, Penry appears no more. I do not regard it as permissible that we should brush these statements aside, or leave them simply

* Queen Elizabeth's regnal year commences 17th November.

and conveniently unmentioned. I think we should accept them as historic statements of fact.

2. Doing this, the two questions as to how far the departure extended, and what length of time it lasted, are matters for surmise and argument. I suggested, for reasons which I gave, a first halt at Newcastle-on-Tyne, just over the border.

3. At this point there is one clear fact calling for special attention. In the tender letter written by Penry "from close prison—this 10th of 4th month of April 1593" to his four daughters, to be read "when they come to years of discretion," he reminds them: "Shew yourselves helpful and kind unto the people of Scotland, where I, your mother, and *a couple of you* lived as strangers," etc. "The eldest," he says, "is not yet four years old, the youngest not four months." The eldest, therefore, was born not earlier than April, 1589. The only reasonable conclusion in my view is that the children 1 and 2 were the two with their parents in Scotland. There is (a) the unnaturalness, otherwise, of their leaving behind a mere infant in arms, an only child, at the time of their flight from England. (b) The name given to the child: "Deliverance," has a full significance if it shared in the flight. (c) There is not the slightest suggestion in the letters to the daughters or the mother that one of the children had been separated from her parents during practically the whole of their married life. (d) On the other hand, Penry reminds his daughters that both their mother and himself had been witnesses "before them in the enduring of sufferings"; especially how their mother had for their comfort "taken bitter journeys *by sea and land*," and expresses a hope that their mother will still be able to keep them together. (e) And to the mother, speaking tenderly of the training of children and her past experience

in it, he says: "Especially smite not the elder wench over hard, because you know the least word will restrain her." It is surely more reasonable to suppose that the reference here is to what we should call the eldest of four, rather than the eldest of three out of the four.

4. All this, if accepted, lands us in the conclusion that wherever, at any particular time, Penry was to be found in his wanderings, there was some share of family life for him in England, after the crucial date, 18th December, 1590.

5. Mr. Burrage evidently forgets that I acknowledge this does not imply that Penry was never again in Scotland. I even give dates when such visits were either probably or certainly made; in my volume mentioning the approximate date of one of the "intercepted writings"—to use Penry's own expression for these two letters—mentioned in the Protestation, and as Mr. Burrage reminds us, preserved by the editor of Paget. I cannot doubt that Penry, in his special dangers, found safety in passing in and out between the two countries. There is the very significant sentence in Penry's letter to his wife: "Salute all ours in Scotland, upon the borders, and every way northward."

6. One pleasant consequence of this view of Penry's position, to which I still adhere, is that at once there is a removal of the almost insuperable difficulty of accounting for Penry's sudden plunge, according to the old view, at the close of 1592, from the organized Presbyterianism of Scotland into complete fellowship with the "Brethren of the Separation" in London. For this there had been preparation in his intercourse with not a few scattered brethren in various parts of England.

The questions suggested by Penry's last years are likely to be always somewhat perplexing; but for the reasons I have now given, I feel that the

dates of the two "intercepted writings," separated from one another by more than twelve months, so far from "entirely invalidating" my theories, may to a certain degree be appealed to as indirectly supporting them, and strengthening them by any suggested readjustment.

T. GASQUOINE.

Statistics of the Church of England, A.D. 1603

THE following, from MSS. in the British Museum, seem to be of some interest. The small bracketted figures in the first schedule are cancelled in the MS., and it will be seen that the actual totals (*italic*) do not agree with the summary in the MS. The Stowe MS. is not dated, but by comparison of figures appears to have been compiled about the same time as the Harleian MS.

Returns Anno 1603, from Harleian MS. 280:29, fol. 157

Diocese	Parishes	Of which im- propriate	Preachers	Of whom not graduates	Communi- cants	Recusants		
						M	W	Total
Chichester ...	250	120 [112]	211 [173]	38	48,325 [43,197]	109	153	262
Bristol ...	236	64	126	50	44,445	89	124	213
Sarum ...	248	109	200	—	76,630 [53,797]	—	—	171
Ely ...	141	75	112 [167]	4	29,909 } 668 }	—	—	19
Peterboro' ...	293	91	144	9	54,086	13	83	96
Exon ...	604	239	223	29	188,774	44	55	99
Gloucester ...	267	125	127	54	57,563	33	31	64
Hereford ...	313	166	81	—	62,954	152	279	431
Lichfd. & Cov.	561	259	86	23	117,256	231	419	650
Bangor ...	61	38	47	6	38,840	11	21	32
S. Asaph ...	121	19	41	5	53,188	100	150	250
Llandaff ...	177	98	50	12	37,100	—	—	381
S. Davids ...	305	100	84	15	83,322	—	—	145
Canterbury	262	140	201	52	52,753	18	20	38
„ Peculiars	54	17	58 [56]	—	17,603	5	13	18
Rochester ...	98 [96]	42 [37]	76	13	18,956	11	7	18
London ...	613	189	503	—	146,857 } 1,572 }	166	152	318
Norwich ...	1121	386	259	—	147,552	147	177	324
Oxford ...	194	88	85	13	33,527	93	141	234
Bath & Wells	412	160	163	50	84,088	50	52	102
Winton ...	362	132	220	34	58,707	149	249	398
Worcester ...	241	76	120	42	56,465	102	168	270
Lincoln ...	1255	577	920 [663]	226	242,550	—	—	295
York ...	581 [381]	336 [267]	433	177	214,470	300	420	720
Durham ...	135	87	63	14	67,279	211	315	526
Chester ...	256	101	161	32	178,190	922	1520	2442
Carlisle ...	93	18	36	6	61,699	30	44	74
<i>Total</i>	<i>9254</i>	<i>3852</i>	<i>4830</i>	<i>904*</i>	<i>2,265,328</i>	<i>2986*</i>	<i>4593*</i>	<i>8590</i>

* These totals are incomplete.

Statistics of the Church of England, A.D. 1603 55

But the MS. summarizes this :

Prov. of Canterbury, Par.	8179		Improp.	3299
" " York, "	865		" "	542
	<u>9044</u>			<u>3841</u>

Prov. of Canterbury, Preachers	4100		Recusants	4750
" " York, "	693		" "	3762
	<u>4793</u>			<u>8512</u>

Of the Recusants 5087 are said to be women.

Elsewhere the results are summarized thus :

Parishes ...	...	...	...	8806
Doubled benefices	...	...	...	801
Preachers	...	...	...	4793
Recusants	...	...	87014, error for	8714

Churches in each Shire, from Stowe MS. 570, p. 91. No date

“The number of Churches in each Shire as they are in the book of first-fruits.”

Suffolk ...	420	London ...	99	Notts. (?) ...	179
Norfolk ...	674	Middlesex (?)	68	Northumbd. (?)	104
Cambridge ...	167	Essex ...	396	Carlisle ...	53
Hunts. (?) ...	80	Herts. ...	128	Westmoreland	24
Northants. ...	280	Southampton	253	Duresme ...	111
Leicester ...	202	<i>Illegible : looks</i>		Lancashire ...	36
Rutland ...	47	<i>like "Gerusty"</i>	12	Cheshire ...	67
Beds. (?) ...	120	Surrey ...	115	Staffdsh. ...	83
Bucks. (?) ...	240	Sussex ...	295	Derbysh. ...	109
Oxford ...	175	Devon ...	400	Salop ...	168
Lincoln ...	620	Cornwall ...	159	Herefordsh.	181
Wilts. ...	253	Kent ...	371	Menevia Dioc.	331
Berks. (?) ...	140	Gloucester ...	246	Llandaff Dioc.	165
Dorset ...	246	Warwick ...	162	Asaph Dioc.	165
Worcester ...	152	Somerset ...	384	Bangor Dioc.	92
Bristol (?) ...	17	York ...	459		

Total 9248.

But the total given in the MS. is 9210.

The names queried are my *conjectural* readings of the MS.

56 Statistics of the Church of England, A.D. 1603

“Net Revenues of the Bishoprics, the tenths being defaulted.”

Stowe MS. 570 p. 93. No date

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Canterbury ...	2,784	10	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	Gloucester ...	283	16	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
York... ..	1,448	19	2	Bangor ...	118	12	9
London ...	1,007	8	6	Carlisle ...	478	2	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Winchester ...	2,242	6	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	Chichester ...	600	17	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Durham ...	1,638	19	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	Lincoln ...	828	4	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hereford ...	691	13	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	Exeter ...	450	0	0
Ely ...	1,921	8	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	Norwich ...	839	11	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
St. Davids ...	411	7	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	Asaph ...	168	16	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Salisbury ...	1,230	16	6	Llandaff ...	139	5	0
Bath and Wells	480	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Rochester ...	332	7	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Coventry & Lich- field ...	632	18	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	Bristol ...	340	2	6
Peterborough ...	373	9	11	Oxford ...	319	6	8
Chester ...	378	1	8	Worcester ...	833	11	7 $\frac{1}{2}$

The balances differ a little from those derivable from a return of gross revenues and tenths on p. 92; which are in a different hand and notation.

White's "Century"

VERY soon after the meeting of the Long Parliament a large number of petitions were presented complaining of negligent, incompetent, and scandalous clergymen. Many of these, while sorely remiss in pastoral duty as it was understood by the Puritans, were zealous in practising and enforcing those ritual innovations which were favoured by Laud and his subordinates, in obstructing the lecturers who provided religious teaching which they were unwilling or unable to give, in maintaining doctrines not easily distinguishable from popery, and in promoting those Sunday sports and revels which the Puritans accounted sinful. Worse than this, not a few of them were men of evil life, drunken, profane, and even more seriously immoral. The parliament, in December 1640, met these complaints by appointing a committee to consider how an adequate number of preaching ministers might be provided and maintained, "and to consider of some way of removing scandalous ministers, and putting others in their place." John White, one of the members for Southwark, was chairman of this committee, which in a few months had, it is said, to deal with above two thousand petitions! Numerous benefices were sequestered from men who were proved by the testimony of witnesses—seldom less than six—to be negligent, incapable, or immoral; and men of approved character, if not always of the highest ability, were put in their places. After the outbreak of the Civil War the Scandalous Ministers Committee took cognizance of "malig-

nants," *i.e.*, ministers who shewed themselves actively hostile to the popular cause. Undoubtedly some men of blameless life suffered in this character, men who sincerely believed in the Divine Right of Absolute Monarchy. During the war, says Dr. Dale, their ejection "was a military as much as an ecclesiastical measure"; "it was as necessary to eject the Royalist clergy from their parishes as to eject the king's garrison from Colchester." Much less excusable, even as a military measure, was the attempt, in 1644, to compel the universal acceptance of the Solemn League and Covenant, and the ejection of many conscientious Episcopalians for whom such acceptance was impossible. Ejections on doctrinal grounds were not numerous; those which occurred were mostly for teaching of a high sacerdotal and Romanizing character.

How many episcopal clergymen were sequestered or deprived in the nineteen years and a half between the meeting of the Long Parliament and the fall of the Commonwealth can never be certainly known. Walker's wild guess of 8,000 or more is absurd; his own detailed statements make one fourth of that number a more reasonable estimate. But be the total more or less, the Long Parliament and Commonwealth ejections differed from that of 1662 in these important particulars: the former began in the interest of public morality, were continued in view of a supposed military necessity, and subsequently reverted to the original intention; there was no newly devised ritual or doctrinal test, and there was no thought of reprisals for the past. The motive of the latter was revenge for recent suffering; its aim to exterminate vanquished adversaries; and its method a test which it is hard to see how anyone could pass without mental reservation.

In November 1643, after the outbreak of the Civil War, but before the general imposition of the Covenant, it was thought advisable to publish a sample of the work done by the Scandalous Ministers Committee. They had already evicted several hundreds of immoral and incapable ministers; and now issued a quarto pamphlet of 59 closely printed pages, entitled:

THE
FIRST CENTURY
OF
Scandalous, Malignant
PRIESTS,

Made and admitted into Benefices by the
PRELATES, in whose hands the Ordination of
Ministers and government of the Church hath been.

OR

A Narration of the Causes for which the

PARLIAMENT hath ordered the

Sequestration of the Benefices of several Ministers complained of before them, for vitiousnesse of life, errors in Doctrine, contrary to the Articles of our Religion, and for practising and pressing *superstitious Innovations against Law, and*
for Malignancy against the

PARLIAMENT.

[T is Ordered this seventeenth day of *November, 1643*, by the Committee of the House of Commons in Parliament concerning Printing, that this Booke intituled [*The first Century of Scandalous, Malignant Priests, &c.*] be printed by *George Miller*.

JOHN WHITE

LONDON

Printed by *George Miller*, dwelling in the *Black Friers*,
M.DC.XLIII.

To reprint the "Century" as a whole is as impossible as it is undesirable; it would be nothing less than an outrage on public decency. But it may be worth while to present the substance of it in a carefully condensed form, whereby it may be seen what manner of men the committee had to deal with. It may be added that most—nearly all—of them are charged with either open hostility or scurrilous speech against the Parliament.

These hundred men come from twelve counties, *viz.* :

Bedfordshire ...	1	Huntingdonshire	1
Buckinghamshire	1	Kent	16
Cambridgeshire	2	London & Middlesex	10
Essex	28	Surrey	4
Hampshire ...	1	Suffolk... ..	16
Hertfordshire ...	10	Sussex	10

Of the whole number, fifty-two are charged with drunkenness and profanity, and twenty-four with worse breaches of morality. Twelve of them at least, denoted by R, and including six drunkards and three more grossly immoral, were reinstated after the Restoration.

It is interesting to see how Walker treats these sufferers in his ponderous collection of *Sufferings of the Clergy*. For this purpose we may group them in five series: (a) In forty-one cases he openly or tacitly admits the charges, *viz.* : Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 37, 39, 42, 43, 45, 51, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 73, 74, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99. (b) In twenty cases he admits the charges, but makes light of them or treats them with a sneer, *viz.* : Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 30, 32, 34, 41, 44, 46, 49, 50, 54, 59, 69, 72, 75, 77, 88, 91. (c) In eight cases the charges are either denied or doubted, *viz.* : Nos. 1, 9, 18, 20, 55, 67, 78, 100; two or three of these are met by counter-evidence, and one or two—the worst—are chal-

lenged by the remark that the men, if guilty, ought not to have been ejected but hanged. (d) In thirteen cases Walker suggests that drunkenness, etc., are imputed merely to discredit those who were loyal to Church and king, *see* Nos. 6, 16, 17, 33, 35, 47, 48, 52, 70, 71, 76, 81, 87. Finally, eighteen of the "Century" are justified or commended by the High Churchman for the conduct which was censured by the Puritan Committee, *viz.*: 15, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29, 36, 38, 40, 53, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86. It will be seen that these include the teachers not only of ultra-royalism, but of doctrines very nearly approaching those of the Church of Rome.

The First Century of Scandalous and Lewd Ministers.

1. John Wilson, Arlington, Sussex.
Tavern-haunting; asserting unqualified obedience to the king to be a duty; abominable immorality which cannot be specified.
2. John Aymes, Lewis, Kent.
Tavern-haunting, drunkenness, and swearing; absent from his parish for 15 weeks.
3. Charles Forbench, Henney, Essex.
Habitual swearing and cursing; neglect of pastoral duties, etc.
4. Samuel Withers, Kelvedon, Essex.
Attempted seduction—several cases; encouraging Sunday sports, and forbidding a second sermon on Sundays.
5. Emmanuel Uty, D.D., Chigwell, Essex.
Popish doctrine; affirms that Holy Orders confer Inspiration, and [R] that the Authority of Bishops is superior to that of the Prince.
6. Edward Cherry, Much Holland, Essex.
Superstitious ritual; seldom preaches above once a month; drunkenness; deserted his parish for above a year, and gone to the royalist army. [R]
7. Thomas Thrall, St. Mary Mount Haw, London.
Tavern-haunting and drunkenness; encouraging Sunday sports; superstitious ritual.
8. John Gordon, Ockley, Sussex.
Habitual drunkenness; deserted his church for six months, and gone to the royalist army.
- 9.* Lawrence Washington, Purleigh, Essex.
Habitual tavern-haunting, tipping, and drunkenness; and encouraging others to the like.
10. Philip Leigh, Redbourn, Hertford.
Habitual tavern-haunting, drunkenness, swearing and quarrelling.

* Said to be great-great-grandfather of George Washington.

11. Francis Fotherby, St. Clement's, Sandwich, and Lingstead, Kent.
Habitual drunkenness, swearing, and cursing.
12. David Tutival, Charterhouse, Middlesex.
Frequent drunkenness; neglect of duty.
13. John Gorsach, D.D., Walkerne, Hertford.
Tavern-haunting, drunkenness, and gambling; seldom preaching—scarcely once a quarter; exercising a capricious discipline as regards the Sacraments; using filthy language about the Parliament.
14. Edward Thurman, Hallingbury, Essex.
A common drunkard; boasted that he would drive all puritans out of the parish; deserted his cure for half a year last past.
15. Robert Snell, Matching, Essex.
Superstitious ritual; refusing to allow removal of a crucifix; teaching correspondent thereto.
16. Robert Hiliard, Ewell, Surrey.
Tavern-haunting, tipling, quarrelling, cursing, and swearing; profanity; threatening to kill those who proceeded against him.
17. Joseph Soane, Aldenham, Hertford.
[R] Tavern-haunting, drunkenness, gambling, and quarrelling.
18. William Fairfax, D.D., St. Peter, Cornhill, London, and East Ham, Middlesex.
Refusing for eight years to allow a week-day lecture for which there was an endowment; demanding £50 to allow a Sunday afternoon sermon; playing cards on Sunday; drunkenness, and seeking the company of loose women; general neglect of duty.
19. James Bradshaw, Chalfont S. Peters, Bucks.
Preaching up the late (Laudian) innovations; affirming that the use of other prayers than those authorized in the B.C.P. is sinful; wishing that all lecturers were hanged.
20. Robert Cotesford, D.D., Hadleigh and Monks Ely, Suffolk.
Strict observance of the late innovations; teaching of Romish doctrines; seldom preaching; desertion of his cures for five months; frequent drunkenness; attempted seduction.
21. Nicholas Andrews, D.D., Guildford and Godalming, Surrey.
Superstitious ritual; refusal to publish the order for removing idolatrous pictures and images; avowing himself an enemy to frequent preaching; refusing to allow the engagement of a lecturer; also he had persecuted parishioners who went to hear sermons in other churches.
22. Ephraim Udall, St. Austin's, London.
Affirming that the Church-reformers were hypocrites; charging the parliament with sacrilege in endeavouring to abolish Episcopacy; teaching that Tithes are by divine right.
23. — Jeofferis, D.D., Feversham and Ticehurst, Kent.
Preaching the right of the king to impose taxes at his pleasure, and the divine original of episcopacy; hindering the lecturer appointed by Parliament from preaching; neglecting his church, so that for several weeks there was neither preaching nor prayers; deserting his parish for half a year.

24. James Mountford, Tewing, Hertford.
Publishing and commending the Book of Sports; reviling parishioners who would not kneel at Communion; preaching that laymen should not meddle with the scriptures, but must believe as the Church believes, and that, if the king should set up flat idolatry, we ought to submit.
25. John Peckham, Little Horstead, Sussex.
Neglecting his parish, absenting himself for a month together without providing a substitute; drunkenness, and notorious adulteries.
26. John Kidd, Egerton, Kent.
Seldom preaching; superstitious ritual, and reviling those who dissented; assaulting a communicant without just cause.
27. Griffith Roberts, Ridge, Hertford.
Practising "the late innovations"; drunkenness; denouncing the Parliament and all their adherents as traitors.
28. Peter Dansew, Camberwell, Surrey.
Habitual drunkenness; extorting unreasonable fees; has not preached for twelve years.
29. John Mountford, D.D., Anstey, Hertford.
Superstitious ritual; teaching a special presence of God at the "altar"; hindering preaching and exposition of the catechism; employing a scandalous curate, who preached that the people were "bound in conscience to believe whatever he and the Dr. did preach."
30. Edward Brewster, Lawshall, Suffolk.
Tavern-haunting and tippling; refusing to baptize children; compelling parishioners to do penance for not kneeling at the Sacrament.
31. Richard Hart, Hargrave, Suffolk.
Tavern-haunting, tippling and drunkenness, and inciting others to the like; strong suspicion of unchastity.
32. Edward Jenkinson, Panfield, Essex.
Superstitious ritual; encouraging Sunday sports; reviling neighbouring ministers; and (being a judge in the ecclesiastical court) boasting that he would suppress afternoon preaching.
33. Joseph Plumm, Black Notley, Essex.
Tavern-haunting and drunkenness; threatening those who would not bow at the Name of Jesus; absent from his parish for 18 weeks, having gone to the Royalist army.
34. William Graunt, Isleworth, Middlesex.
Preaching against the Parliament; advocating clerical celibacy and auricular confession; frequent drunkenness; encouraging tippling in his own house on Sundays after prayers.
[R?]
35. Henry Hancocks, Fornax Pelham, Hertford.
Tippling; swearing; reviling Puritans and Roundheads; preaching that it is spiritual adultery to leave one's own parish church to hear another minister.
36. Alexander Clark, Bredfield, Suffolk.
Encouraging and participating in Sunday sports; teaching that he had absolute power to forgive sins; "and hath inveighed in his sermons against praying by the spirit."

37. Zachary Tutsham, Dallington, Sussex.
Drunkenness; quarrelling; neglect of his parish for two months together; attempted seduction.
38. Nicholas Wright, D.D., Theydon Garnon, Essex.
Superstitious ritual; capricious discipline; advocating Sunday sports; has not preached above twice or thrice in a year, yet troubled parishioners in the ecclesiastical court for hearing other ministers; has deserted his parish, leaving as a substitute a lewd and drunken curate, and has gone to the Royalist army.
39. John Woodcock, Eltham, Kent.
Drunkenness, habitual swearing and cursing; desertion of his cure.
40. John Manby, D.D., Cottenham, Cambridge.
[R] Superstitious ritual; teaching that God was "more peculiarly present" at the "altar" than elsewhere; that he "had undoubted power to forgive sins," given to him by the bishop's laying-on of hands; that as the king had power to make laws for things temporal, so the bishops had power to make laws ecclesiastical; and that he ought not to be judged by a temporal magistrate; also cursing, swearing and gambling.
41. William Muffet, Edmonton, Middlesex.
[R] Drunkenness, swearing, cursing and blaspheming; quarrelling and fighting; rarely sober except when he lacks money for drink.
42. John Denn, Dartford, Kent.
Habitual drunkenness, often on Sundays.
43. Richard Tanton, Ardingley, Sussex.
A common drunkard; said in a sermon "he wished every knee might rot that would not bow at the Name of Jesus."
44. Thomas King, Cheshill Magna, Essex.
Tavern-haunting; frequently drunk, even on Sundays; refusing to minister the Sacrament except at the altar rails; deserting his cure for above three months.
45. Edward Alston, Pentloe, Essex.
[R] Gross immorality; refused to administer the Sacrament because the surplice was not there.
46. Christopher Webb, Sawbridgeworth and Geddlestone, Herts.
[R] Common drunkard; negligent of his cure, not suffering others to preach when he would not.
47. John Reynolds, Haughton and Witton, Huntingdonshire.
Common tippler and swearer; read and commended the canons of 1640; affirmed the synod of bishops to be of more authority than the parliament.
48. Edward Ashburnham, Tonbridge, Kent.
Tavern-haunting and drunkenness even on the Lord's Day; has driven divers families from their dwellings by pursuing them for not coming to the rails for the Sacrament.
49. Nicholas Bloxam, Gt. Waldingfield, Sussex.
Common drunkard and swearer; negligent of his cure, seldom preaching above once a month; has behaved ill towards divers women, etc.

50. John Man, Strood, Kent.
Common drunkard and tempter of others thereto; given to swearing, cursing, quarrelling and fighting.
51. Nicholas Lowes, Much Bentley, Essex.
Often drunk; "tippling in alehouses seven or eight hours together even on the Lord's Day"; and by his example leading others to do the same.
52. William Evans, Sandcroft, Suffolk.
Tavern-haunting and notorious drunkenness; will neither preach nor suffer others to do so on Sunday afternoons; has driven divers out of the parish by prosecuting them in ecclesiastical courts; has preached "that those who did give or lend to the Parliament were accursed."
53. John Squire, Shoreditch, Middlesex.
Has publicly in his sermons praised Papists as the king's best subjects, and affirmed "that the subjects and all they have are at the king's command."
54. John Clark, S. Ethelburga, London.
Preaching Popish doctrine—transubstantiation, and "that the Virgin Mary was the window of heaven"; also tavern-haunting, tippling and drunkenness.
- [R]
55. Richard Nicholson, Stapleford Tawney, Essex.
Common drunkard and swearer; hath sung a ballad against the Parliament in an alehouse.
56. Francis Wright, Witham, Essex.
Attempted seduction—several cases; common swearer and user of corrupt speech; common drunkard—has performed public worship when drunken; has not officiated for twelve months past.
- [R]
57. Cuthbert Dale, Kettleborough, Suffolk.
A constant observer of "the late illegal innovations in the worship of God," and has troubled parishioners in the ecclesiastical courts for not observing them; has preached "that it is not the blood of Christ that takes away sin, but repentance and tears," and that angels are mediators for the children of God; has read the Book of Sports, and encouraged excessive drinking; has reviled his parishioners in the pulpit, calling them ill names; has absented himself from his cure for weeks together, leaving it to very scandalous curates, and for above nine weeks has entirely deserted it.
58. Thomas Goade, East Hatley, Cambridgeshire.
Was deprived of a benefice 20 years ago for his scandalous life and misdemeanours, and has not since reformed, but is an habitual drunkard, swearer and curser; has been often unable through drunkenness to perform his duties.
59. Nicholas King, Friston and Snape, Suffolk.
A companion of men of evil fame; often drunk; charged also with attempted rape.
60. Edward Turner, St. Lawrence, Essex.
Tippling whole days and nights together, and sometimes drunk; a common practiser of the late illegal innovations; has deserted his cure for a year past.
61. John Wells, Shimplyn[g], Suffolk.
A common drunkard and swearer; found with a loose woman in suspicious circumstances; has attempted to corrupt other women.

62. Thomas Geary, Beddingfield, Suffolk.
Drunkness, swearing and cursing; reviling parishioners and calling foul names in his sermons; did not preach for many Sundays together; claimed absolute power to forgive sins.
63. Thomas Darnell, Thorpe, Essex.
Reading the Book of Sports; usually profaning the Lord's Day by sports and servile work; swearing, cursing, drunkenness and gambling; convicted of adultery.
64. John Wood, Marden, Kent.
"Notoriously infamous for sundry adulteries"; often drunk; swearing, gambling and quarrelling; read the Book of Sports and preached the maintenance thereof.
65. Thomas Heny, Arundel, Sussex.
Tippling and swearing; procuring alehouses to be set up in despite of the magistrates; rarely preaches, and refuses to allow others to do so.
66. Erasmus Land, Little Tey, Essex.
A common drunkard and swearer; seldom preaches; church sometimes through his neglect shut up the whole of Sunday.
67. Anthony Hugget, Cliff, Sussex.
He sued two parishioners and put them to penance for going to other churches to hear sermons when there was none at home; read the New Canons instead of preaching; refused the Sacrament to one who was lame and could not kneel; strongly suspected of incontinence; illtreated his wife; deserted his cure for six months together.
68. John Sydall, Kensworth, Hertford.
Tavern-haunting and drunkenness; reviling those who went to hear sermons in other churches; neglecting his cure and not providing supply.
69. John Rannev, Kettlebaston, Suffolk.
Tippling and drunkenness; reading and commending the Book of Sports; preaching that "original sin is washed away in baptism"; promoting the late innovations; deserting his cure for above half a year.
70. Jeoffrey Amherst, D.D., Horsemunden, Kent.
A diligent practiser of the late innovations; swearing, tavern-haunting and drunkenness; has deserted his cure for seven months.
71. Miles Goultie, Walton, Suffolk.
Zealous for the late innovations; dismissed a curate for too frequent preaching, and engaged instead one who was idle, drunken and scandalous.
72. Samuel Alsop, Acton, Suffolk.
Seduction, and divers attempts at the like.
73. Robert Senior, Feering, Essex.
Drunkness, continued after admonition by his Ordinary; commonly marrying without licence.
74. Henry Kyberts (or Kibuts), St. Katharine Coleman, London.
Procuring the benefice by fraud; commonly frequenting the company of a woman of ill fame; seldom preaching, and in his absence committing the cure "to drunken, lewd, and lascivious curates."

75. Walter Mattock, Storrington, Sussex.
Zealously practising the late innovations; swearing, cursing, gambling, and "tippling with loose and lewd companions"; has not preached above once or twice in four years.
76. Clement Vincent, Danbury, Essex.
Encouraging and sharing in Sunday sports; practising illegal innovations; swearing, cursing, and drunkenness.
77. Matthew Clay, Chelsworth, Suffolk.
Letting the parsonage-house to one who turned it into an ale-house; deserting his cure for four months, leaving in charge a scandalous
[R] curate who sat in the stocks for drunkenness, so that on several Sundays the church was shut up.
78. Daniel Horsmanden, D.D., Ulcombe, Kent.
Has been for eleven years a common tavern-haunter and drunkard; said that Strafford "was sacrificed as Christ was, to give the people content."
79. Joseph Davis,† St. Thomas' Hospital, Southwark.
Tavern-haunting, drunkenness, and swearing; saying that "all who went forth in the service of Parliament were Rogues and Rascals, and those of them who died at Edge Hill went to the Devil."
80. Henry Osbaldiston, D.D., Much Parndon, Essex.
Preaching against frequent sermons and in favour of Sunday sports; teaching that Baptism washes away original sin; reviling those who went to hear sermons in other churches.
81. Humphrey Dawes, Mount Nessing, Essex.
Drunkenness in church on Sunday, so that he knew not what he said; affirming that they who lent money to the Parliament are damned.
82. Richard Taylor, Buntingford etc., Herts.
Enforcing innovations in ritual; recommending Auricular Confession, and claiming power to forgive sin; declaring the fourth Commandment to be "merely ceremonial," and accordingly doing business on the Lord's Day.
83. Thomas Baily, Brasted, Kent.
Teaching of Romish doctrine about confession, absolution, etc.; teaching that no prayer should be used, even in private, that had not been seen and allowed by a priest, &c., &c.
84. Richard Duxon (or Dukeson), D.D., St. Clement Danes, London.
Preaching strange doctrine; practising superstitious ritual; speaking contemptuously of extempore prayer; forcibly preventing the lecturer from preaching; taking extortionate fees; gambling, forsaking his parish for six weeks last past.
85. Edward Marten, D.D., Houghton Conquest, Bedfordshire and Dunnington, Cambridgeshire.
Praying openly for souls in Purgatory; saying that preaching is profaned when it is in a place not hallowed by the bishop; enforcing superstitious ritual; rarely preaching at Houghton, but substituting scandalous and malignant curates.
86. James Buck, Stradbroke, Suffolk.
Preaching downright Popery.

† Walker calls him Draper.

87. Thomas Vaughan, Chatham, Kent.
Practising and enforcing the late illegal innovations ; rarely preaching, and endeavouring to hinder parishioners from hearing sermons elsewhere—telling them it was just as lawful as adultery ; tavern-haunting, tippling, and inciting others to the like.
88. Richard Goffe (Gough), East Greenstead, Sussex.
Tavern-haunting, swearing, and singing lewd songs ; keeping company with papists and scandalous persons ; preaching Transubstantiation and Regeneration in Baptism ; hoping "to see the time again that there should be no Bible in men's houses."
89. Thomas Staple, Mundon, Essex.
Drunkeness, singing profane songs "with hollowing and roaring," and enticing others to do the like ; teaching that "it is not for laymen to search the Scriptures," and that "children dying without baptism are all damned."
90. Peter Allen, Tollesbury, Essex.
Incontinence, paternity of several bastards, negligence of his cure, absenting himself for a month together.
91. John Hurt, Horndon, Essex.
Drunkeness, gambling, cursing and swearing, and a reputation for incontinence.
92. Paul Clapham, Farnham, Surrey, and Martin-Worthy, Hampshire.
Adultery, and paternity of at least two bastards.
93. John Amnes, Charleton, Kent.
A common drunkard, hath kept a common alehouse ; hath attempted the chastity of several women.
94. Robert Shepherd, Hepworth, Suffolk.
Frequent drunkeness ; strongly suspected of incontinence ; using foul language in his preaching and catechising ; endeavouring to induce poor men to forswear themselves.
95. John Woolhouse, West Mersea, Essex.
Tippling, gambling, cursing and swearing ; attempted seduction.
96. Henry Hannington, Hougham, Kent.
Habitual drunkeness continued above twenty years ; singing lewd songs in the alehouse ; encouraging of Sunday sports ; neglect of his cure.
97. Samuel Sowthen, Mallendine, Essex.
Drunkeness, and inciting others thereto ; swearing and cursing ; diligent practice of the late innovations ; contemptuous speech concerning "painfull Preachers and their hearers" ; has been presented in the ecclesiastical court for adultery.
98. Thomas Heard, West Tukeley, Essex.
Habitual drunkeness—in a drunken fit threatening to burn his wife and children ; saying "he hoped to live to see all the Puritans hanged."
99. Samuel Scrivener, Westhropp, Suffolk.
Teaching that there is an inherent holiness in the communion table ; adultery and frequent drunkeness.
100. Ambrose Westrope, Much Totham, Essex.
Such speech and behaviour, in the pulpit and elsewhere, as warrants the charitable hope that the man was insane.

Old Gravel Lane Meeting

REV. EDWARD VEAL, of Christ Church, Oxford, afterwards of Trinity College, Dublin, was ordained at Winwick, Lancashire, 14th August, 1657, for a charge in Ireland. He was deprived of his fellowship in T.C.D. by the Acts for Uniformity; and came to London with a testimonial of his learning, piety, orthodoxy, and ministerial usefulness, signed by Stephen Charnock and six other respectable ministers. (*See Nonconformists' Memorial*, i., 210.) He became chaplain to Sir William Waller; and afterwards settled as pastor of a Nonconformist church in Wapping. The meeting place is not certainly known; though there was a tradition that it was in Brewhouse Lane. He had several pupils, to whom he read University learning: amongst whom were Revs. Nathaniel Taylor and John Shower. He has four sermons in the "Morning Exercise." He died 6th June, 1708, aged 76; and was succeeded in his pastorate by Rev. THOS. SYMONDS, who preached his funeral sermon.

There is no record of the actual formation of the church; but the first entry in the church book which existed when a brief narrative was drawn up early in the 19th century was dated 1704.

The following are extracts from the church book of Stepney Meeting, of which the originals are in the handwriting of Rev. Matthew Mead.

"Mr. Thomas Simmons, Minister, was received by recommendation from the Church of Sheffield, Yorkshire, 20th October, 1698 . . .

Mr. Thos. Simmons was by majority of votes of the Brethren chosen to be my assistant in the work of preaching the gospel to this Church."

This is the last entry that occurs in the hand of Mr. Mead, who died 16th October, 1699. He was succeeded as pastor by Mr. Galpine; and Mr. Simmons (or Symonds) retained his post as Assistant, or "Teaching Elder" as he is called in some of the minutes. In 1703 there seems to have been some dispute between Messrs. Galpine and Simmons as to their respective functions, which was amicably adjusted. But at a church meeting, 7th September, 1704, it was resolved that:

"Mr. Simmons having received an invitation from Mr. Veal's people in Wapping to be their pastor, and desiring the Church's consent to his removal, was dismissed accordingly. . . ."

As the new pastor was elected nearly four years before the death of Mr. Veal, it would seem that the latter must have retired, perhaps from the infirmities of age. Mr. Simmons's first entry in the church book was dated 28th September, 1704. He retained the pastorate till 1718.

He was followed by the Rev. DAVID JENNINGS, D.D.; in whose time the meeting-house in Old Gravel Lane was built. He was the son of the Rev. John Jennings, ejected from the rectory of Hartley Wasphill, Hampshire; and was born at Kibworth, Leicestershire, in 1691. He was instructed in grammar learning at the free school of his native place; and about 1709 was sent to London to pursue a course of academical studies under Dr. Isaac Chauncey. He completed his studies under Dr. Ridgeley and the learned Mr. John Eames; and preached his first sermon in 1714. In the following year he was appointed one of the preachers at the Evening Lecture then carried on in Rotherhithe; and in 1716 was chosen

assistant to the Rev. Foxon, pastor of the congregation at Haberdashers' Hall. Two years after, that is in 1718, he accepted an invitation to become pastor of the Congregational or Independent church in Old Gravel Lane; with which he maintained that relation during 44 years, equally useful and respected. He was the author of many learned works. In 1743 he was appointed trustee of Mr. Coward's charities, and one of the lecturers at Little St. Helen's. In 1744 he entered on a new and important sphere of usefulness as divinity tutor in the academy then chiefly supported by Mr. Coward's fund. To this he was appointed on the death of Mr. Eames, and filled it to the end of his life, with great reputation to himself, and no less advantage to the interests of literature and religion. In 1749 he received his degree of D.D. from the University of St. Andrew's. He died 16th September, 1762, at the age of 71 years. A monument to his memory was placed in front of the chapel.

Of the next minister all that is locally recorded is furnished by two entries in the church book :

"1764. Two years after the Death of Dr. Jennings, the Rev. WM. GORDON, by dismission from the Church of Christ, Tankard Street, Ipswich, Suffolk. July 19. Rev. Willm. Gordon was set apart to the Pastoral Office; he continued his relation about 5 years."

As a matter of fact Mr. Gordon had been pastor of Tacket Street Church, Ipswich, for nearly ten years; having been ordained 9th October, 1754. On leaving Gravel Lane he went to America; and according to Browne (*Hist. Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*) was private secretary to General Washington during the War of Independence. About 1786 or earlier he returned to England; was pastor at St. Neots from 1789 to

1802 ; and died at Ipswich 19th October, 1807, aged 87. On his gravestone in Tacket Street churchyard he is described as D.D. ; his diploma was probably American, but from what institution does not appear.

His successor at Gravel Lane was the REV. NOAH HILL, who was dismissed from the church at Cradley in Worcestershire, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Wm. Jones, 1771 ; and on 18th December in that year was ordained to the pastoral charge in this place. He was educated for the ministry at Daventry under Dr. Caleb Ashworth ; and after finishing his studies was appointed assistant tutor, and so continued for ten years. His pastorate at Gravel Lane was extended to 44 years, ending with his life in 1815.

The subsequent ministers were :

John Hooper, M.A. ; for several years classical tutor at the Hoxton Academy ; died 1825.

Ebenezer Miller, M.A.

He removed about 1831 to become Master of Silcoates School, Yorks ; and was afterwards minister of an English Church in Rotterdam.

John Kelly.

Matthew Jenla, formerly at Bury St. Edmund's ; 1840 until his death in 1852.

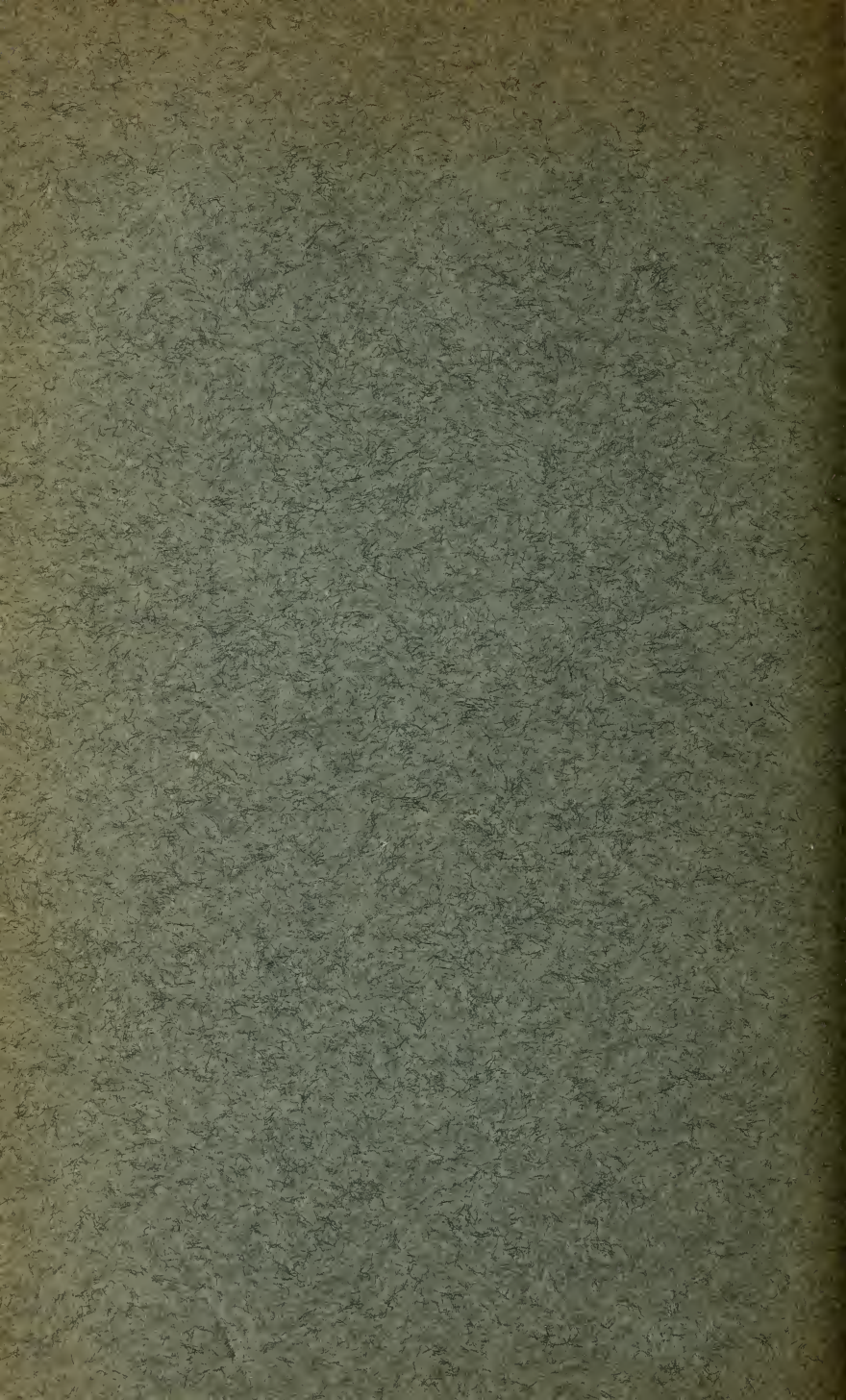
J. R. Cooper, from Willesden, 1853 : removed to Hastings 1858.

Alex. Graham, previously connected with the Wesleyans, 1858.

After 1860 the name of the church is followed by a *blank* in the year book for several years : then "Vacant," and "Supplied," until 1874.

John Benn, minister from 1874 to 1883 ; his pastorate had a tragic ending, he being killed by a lunatic. His son is Sir John Benn, M.P.

After the death of Mr. Benn in 1883, the chapel was temporarily closed, and the interior reconstructed. In 1885 it was re-opened as a mission hall under the direction and support of the London Congregational Union.



Price to Non-Members, 2/- net. Postage extra.

Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

Vol. VI, No. 2]

[OCTOBER, 1913

Contents

Editorial	73
Of the Name of Puritans	76
Dr. John Stoughton the Elder	89
J. C. Whitebrook	
The Oldest English Missionary Society	108
Dr. J. Massie	
Works by the Three Nottingham Worthies :	
John Barret, John Whitlock, & William Reynolds	117
S. Jones	
Shrewsbury Resolutions on the Corporation and Test Acts	124
London Nonconformity in 1810	126
Early Nonconformist Academies	136

*May be obtained direct from the Book Saloon, Congregational Union of
England and Wales, Inc., Memorial Hall, London, E.C.*







Joseph Allein.

DATE MICROFILMED

6 Aug 1990

ITEM # 2

PROJECT and

G. S.

ROLL #

CALL #

Editorial

XL138-102 1696483
578

THE Annual Meeting of the Congregational Historical Society was held at the Memorial Hall, London, on May 8th, 1913. The Rev. B. Nightingale, M.A., was voted to the chair.

As the Rev. John Brown, B.A., D.D., was compelled to relinquish the office of Chairman, the Society not desiring to break entirely the official connection which had so happily existed between him and its organisation, elected him unanimously to the honorary office of President.

The following appointments were then unanimously voted: Chairman, Rev. B. Nightingale, M.A.; Treasurer, Rev. Prof. G. Lyon Turner, M.A.; Editorial Secretary, Rev. T. G. Crippen; Secretary, Rev. Wm. Pierce. Reports, editorial and financial, were read by Mr. Crippen and Prof. Turner, and adopted, and an interesting conversation took place on various methods of extending an interest in the work of the Society and of adding to its membership. The issue of the *Transactions* was discussed, and it was agreed that the publication of these valuable and interesting records should be determined by the state of the Society's funds; it being confidently expected that there would be means of sending out at least two numbers annually. It was felt that the members themselves could render valuable service in commending the Society to persons in their own districts.

Suitable references were made to the loss sustained by the Society through the death of their esteemed member the Rev. Thomas Gasquoine, B.A.

* *

Our Autumnal Meeting will be held, in connection with the Meetings of the Congregational Union, in Warrior Square church, Southend, on Wednesday, 15th October, at 3 p.m. Our new chairman, Rev. B. Nightingale, is expected to preside; and a paper will be read by Rev. A. Goodall of Ongar, on *Early Independency in Essex*.

* *

Two small volumes lately issued by members of our Society are valuable additions to the not too abundant store of popular books on special aspects of Free Church History, which present plain facts without more partisan colouring than is inevitable.

The first is *The Arian Movement in England*, by Rev. J. Hay Colligan, M.A. It is generally known that at the end of the seventeenth century there was much controversy within the Episcopal Church as to the proper explanation of the doctrine of the Trinity; and that pamphlets and treatises were circulated in defence, some of Orthodoxy, some of Arianism, and some of Socinianism. In the Presbyterian churches, by 1718, Arianism had found several advocates; a fact which provoked a heated controversy in the West of England, which involved the London churches, and which the Salters' Hall Conference, 1719, failed to allay. Thenceforward Arianism spread rapidly among English Presbyterians, and later in the century gave place to Socinianism. Under these conditions many of their churches dwindled and became extinct; while from others orthodox secessions took place, which were organized as Congregational churches. The literature of the controversy is bulky, consisting largely of pamphlets, most of which have passed into oblivion. Mr. Colligan has devoted much labour to the study of this forgotten literature, and has produced a comprehensive study of the whole controversy. Especially he has made it clear that, whatever opinions may be held on the doctrines involved, the movement operated largely toward the extension of religious liberty, not only within the Churches, but in their relations with the State.

* *

The other volume, entitled *Heresy, Its Ancient Wrongs and Modern Rights in these Kingdoms*, is an expansion of a lecture delivered by Rev. Alexander Gordon, M.A., at Essex Hall. It is a concise review of the conflict maintained by the State against free thought in religion, from 1166, when certain alleged Manicheans were whipped, branded, and banished, to 1813, when the profession of Unitarianism ceased to be regarded by the law as a crime. It is not necessary to be in accord with the author's personal beliefs—about which there is no concealment—to appreciate this useful little volume; which is crammed with information, so that its value is in inverse proportion to its bulk.

* *

Laws against Nonconformity which have Stood upon the Statute Book of England, by T. Bennett, LL.D., is a small book for which there was much need, and which will probably come to be regarded as a standard book of reference. While covering much of the same ground as Mr. Gordon's book, it is chiefly concerned with endeavours to enforce submission in matters of religious observance, rather than with attempts to compel uniformity of belief.

We are glad to learn that the public will shortly have the benefit of Rev. A. Peel's researches into the Morrice manuscripts, of which some account is given in *Trans.* iv, pp. 294 flg. His book will be issued from the Cambridge University Press, and is already in the hands of the printer.

* * *

We are indebted to Mr. C. Tite of Taunton for the portrait of Joseph Alleine which accompanies this issue. Portraits of that saintly confessor are rare. The original of the one now reproduced is amongst the Hope collection in the Bodleian Library. It presents every indication of being authentic and contemporary.

* * *

In the *Transactions* of the BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY, just to hand, is a remarkable paper on John Canne, well known as the author of *A Necessitie of Separation*. Canne is generally supposed to have been a Baptist; but Mr. C. Burrage, who has discovered several of his autograph letters, shews reason for doubting this, and believes that he continued in fellowship with the "Exiled Church" at Amsterdam to the end of his life.

Of the Name of Puritans

[A few years ago I had for a short time in my custody a MS. commonplace book, of about 250 pp., which from the handwriting and general contents I assigned to some date between 1620 and 1640. Most of the contents were very uninteresting; but the ensuing treatise, which occupied 13 pages of the MS., appeared worth transcribing, and perhaps also worthy of publication. There was nothing to indicate either the author or the copyist.—T.G.C.]

I. CONCERNING the name and derivation thereof.

2. How many sorts of puritans there be, and to whome properly it doth belong.
3. How the name puritane came first up, and how it hath bin allways taken amongst honest men amongst us.
4. How religion is abused by this name, both by papists and atheists.

I. The name of puritane is an upstarte, a name of yesterday, an[d] after birth that hath not long seene the sunne; a mōster, as Doctor Humfrey one of the greatest schollars of the land in this time affirmeth, who was the first that writte concerning the matter, neither good lattin[g] nor good english. is it like then to prove well that hath so bad a beginninge. Yet a great Rabbin of the west, Bowling over the puritans of the east, hath found out y^t w^{ch} Dr. Humfreys could not, whoe telleth us y^t this word puritane is compounded of 2 fyers, such is there skill in alcumey; of pure w^{ch} is fier in Greeke an[d] tane w^{ch} is welch for fier; having learned belike of Chittery there neyghbour to put it into there lettany, and this it is, ab igne greco et ab igne wallico libera nos, ut ab igne Gallico. The word noe doubt comming of purrie signifiyng pure; so that puritane is one altogether pure, and soe some in former times have termed themselves, as Novatus was the first of that sect, and after him many more.

2. Of these puritanes the(re) be 4 sorts, sayth Dr. Humfreys:—
1. Hereticall, ancient;
 2. Papisticall, not unlike;
 3. Anabaptisticall, new and late;
 - (4). Evangelicall, and they very good.

(I.) There were divers sorts of these heritiques. Novatus the first, and many after, as Pelagius, &c: The Donatists, whoe held the church perfect in this life: Jovinianists, that a man cannot

sinne after regeneration: and many other such like, whoe hold opinions contrary to the faith.

(2.) Are papists, who take up there former errors; all there priests, Monkes, Friers, are holy and puré, especially the Jesuits holy. Dr. Humfrey call(s) them puritane-papists, there life an holy seraphycall angelicall life; the holy father the pope, nay, he is godlinesse it selfe.

(3.) Anabaptisticall: there are divers sorts of these. Some are of a more temperate spirit (as Dr. Humfreys sayth,) who will not wync because of the Corruptions of our Church, whoe are, to p. 2] be pittied, meaning the Brownists, whome Dr. | Perkins, Mr. Greenhame, Mr. Josias Nichols, and Sr. Francis Hastings speakes very bitterly against, but they only began in Dr. Humfrey His day, and were not knowne by y^e name. There are others amongst them w^{ch} all good men speake most bitterly against, the king especially, viz., the family of love; and from these came all the slaunders against honest men. These hold when once they be in the lovely being, whatsoever they doe is not sinne; there flesh sinneth, but they in y^e spirit doe not. All the scriptures are but carnall things, all the world prophane. These preferred a petition to his Maiestie at his comming in to the land. These are the mightiest enimies of y^e puritanes that are, as they say, as there you may see. There weere many about y^e Courte; whether any now God knowes. I am sure the Country doth encline very much to such opinions, w^{ch} is indeede meere Athisme. And some Politicians seeke to bring in Popery that way as by the taylor: As Cacus drew Hercules oxen into his Cave by the taylor.

(4.) The 4th sorte is Evangelicall; and such a puritie X(t) out of his gospell hath comāded that we strive unto, viz., to be Xward (?) and holy as he is holy; w^{ch} shall never be perfectly obtained unto in this world; and this is y^t which is layd to the Charge of honest men. The three former we detest to y^e pitt of hell, sayth Dr. Humfrey; and so say all good and honest men.

3. How this name came up, and how it is esteemed of by y^e state. First y^t the beginning of reformation in king Edward his dayes, the Comunion Booke was translated by Mr. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, etc; and other not approving yt there began contention, and great parties were taken on ether side: and in Q. Mary Hir dayes of both sides fled into Francford, beyond the seas; where they not agreeing about there service, some would have the fashion of England and others refused, and soe they seperated. In Q. Elizabeths time coming againe into England, such as followed the booke of there service w^{ch} was comāded there, were advanced into high places; others lived heere and there, some using some not using the same, and having liberty promoted the gospell by all meanes in all places; and all men came to the church, papists and

all, for the first tenn yeares of the Q. Raigne ; inso much as there was not a recusant in England in all that time. The
 p. 3] Preachers being earnest | and therein doing much good, men began to flock to sermons and singing of psalmes &c., as in Josias Nichols is plaine : the Divill began to rage, and to stir up Papists and Atheists ; and the greater sort of the people, being old Barrells that could Hold noe new wine, they began to scoffe and deride, calling them the holy bretheren, holy sisters, &c. pure and unspotted bretheren, and specially men of great place began to picke holes in there preachers coats y^t did not as the law required, and accused them to the Bps. and to the state. The Pope and his cleargie seeing the people of England began more and more to embrace the gospell, and some complaints made against these hott preachers, the Pope then sent out a Bull to com[m]and all Catholiques not to goe to Church upon paine of damnation, nor to obey the Q. shewing y^t shee was an[d] Heritique, and they might lawfully take armes against hir. Whereupon the state began to looke about, and y^t they might not be at variance among themselves began to take away all occasions of con-
 1571
 Subscription tention ; and all these Ministers weere urged to a subscription about the yeare 1571 : and heereupon y^t Admonition to the Parliament was written, and the great contention between Cartwright and Whitgift after Bp of Canterbury beganne ; yet some what pacified by B^{pps} Grindall, and so much good done for 5 or 6 yeares.

This was now the first plunge ; and here againe the Papists were madd, and were ever plotting like to the 3 seditions in Jerusalem, Eleaser Simeon and Jehocanan, ever busiest plotting when there was most stirr. After this Arch B^{ps} decease came out a
 1584
 Another Subscription new subscription universally imposed and enforced upon y^e Ministers throughout y^e whole land in 3 Articles Anno 1584 ; and divers were suspended, some deprived, in divers shires, as Cartwright & Paget, Melancton Jewel, and divers others. Here was shewing writting, Preaching, Challenging, bookes, sermons : great men as ye Earle of Lechester (*sic*) upheld some of there men then called puritanes : this was meat and drinke to y^e Papists. In the midst heereof was the conspiracie of Babington, Touchbourne, etc : and then came in Champion and the Jesuites, and a mighty company of treasons were a working ; and after came the Spanish Navy, yet still God was mercifull to the land. Presently upon this all being stilled, out came Martin Marpelit, Anno 1588, a folish Jester (as Josias Nichols his booke who speaks basly of him) abusing many of great and reverend place. Then the Brownist began to separate and kept Conventicles. Hacket, Coppinger, Arthington attempted new reformation. Then the state began to be very strict, and a mighty storm arose in all shires. If any had

but the name of a puritane, or lookt y^t way, he was had
 in question, and some of the judges, by name Justice
 Anderson, began to be most earnest against this sort of
 men ; insomuch that many Justices of peace feared, and yet bear (?)
 the name of Puritane ; and all the slanders that could be
 p. 4] were | rayled against honest men, w^{ch} made the harts of
 papists and pphane wrechcs to leape for joy. The violence
 of this storme being overpast, the heat began to alay by little and
 little, and y^e rather for y^t the Earle of Essex began to com in to
 favour and Creditt, who favoured honest men : this continued some
 six yeares together ; behold then an[d] other policye of Sathun :
 Some few yeares before the Q. died, it fell out that some headdy
 and giddy spirits in Scotland, being sawcy wth the king there, by
 reason of the comīng over of Penry & some Anabaptist and familist,
 thereupon presently the Conspiracy of the Earle Gowrie (who
 favoured the forward preachers) followed. The king beganne to
 distaste such sort of men ; and watson the preist and others of his
 consorts, knowing how the game went there, and perceiving how
 the Jesuits were like to domineere over them, and Laboured to
 bring in the Infanta of Spaine. He writte against the Jesuits his
 Quodlibets, and mad them most odious in all mens eyes, whose
 booke nowe tollerated in England in great policy, good men not
 knowing the mistery thereof beganne to suspect what might be the
 issue of it. Sir Francis Hasting then writt a booke encouraging all
 Englishmen against the Pope and Spaine. Josias Nichols writte
 his booke then. In the midst of all this the Q. dieth, Anno 1602.
 Then there was great hope of all sides ; the Papists for tolleration
 at least, y^e Reformists for reformation. Then there was a petition
 made unto the king under the name of a thousand Ministers, against
 the Bps and Corruptions of y^e Church ; the Bps Deanes and Uni-
 versities tooke them in hand, as knowing the kings mind incensed
 in Scotland against such men : they writte, speake, preached, and
 so set the whole land awork against those men. And after there
 Conference set forth, a subscription was urged under ye kings
 name, and many were deprived : and soe it continued, and the
 Papists continued there plotts afore beganne, and then the gun-
 powder treason was set on foote. It pleased God to allay y^t heat,
 and what now doth the Divill ; doth he not stirr up the papists
 beyond the seas againe to rayse many bitter things against
 preachers, and honest men that stand for any goodnes. Now they
 begin to writte against the king, especially against Puritans ; they
 are still in with this in all there writing, that the king was a Puritane
 in Scotland and hath changed his religion &c. Therefore
 p. 5] to tell you how the state took that name of | Puritans, and
 doe now at this day, not in any disgrace but only for dis-
 tinction, in y^t they differ in some small poynts concerning outward
 discipline ; and this shalbe manifested by all the best writers, yea

by the king himselfe from the beginning of the name unto this day, clearing the reformed Churches, againste whom the Papists urge that name especially.

Dr. Humfrey the 10 yeare of his Matiys reinge wrotte a tract in Latin against the Bull of Pius Quintus, then when this name was first broached, and he among (*sic*) the rest being taxed, made his Apologie for himselfe and all other soe termed; these are his words: "we will say nothing for ourselves; a Bp shall speake for us, who writting to a great Counsellor of state, told him that "y^e queene had none y^t weere more faithfull, more trusty, more "loving subjects then such as weere falsly termed Puritans." Dr. Fulke, y^e greatest writer against Papists, as Josias Nichols notest Plea of the innocent Pag: 83: sayth " Also the Contention of

"those whom he calleth Puritanes in England is not [soe
Sic: ? if omit (-) "great] now about soe great matters that any such divisions
 "neede to be feared w^{ch} may cause dissolution of the kingdome"; w^{ch} Bristow himselfe sayth, motive 40th. "that all the
 "Protestants in England be in a manner in heart all Puritanes"; confessing hereby against himselfe that there can be no deadly contention between these that in heart are all one. All wth one consent in there writtings against Papists in those times justifie them to be honest men and good subjects, and y^t they differ and dissent only about round and square, white and black, in small matters.

Dr. Barloe, noe friend to puritanes in his hot blood, about y^t time appoynted by y^e state to answer against some Popish articles, when he comes to answer our diversities heere in England between Puritans an(d) Protestants, hath this similitude. The hedhogge (Plinie reports) laind (*sic*) loaden wth nutts and fruits, if the least filbert fall of, will fling downe all the rest in a pettish humour, and beat y^e ground for anger wth his bristells. The gospell amongst us, like the fier of Mount Hecla recorded by Zuicius, w^{ch} dranke up all watters, and devours all wood cast upon it, but cannot consume flax and towe, hath dispersed the grosser heresies of Popery and supperstition, though thes flaxen rags of ceremonyes and shewes lie glowing in the embers of some mallicious and hott spiritts not consumed.

About this time came forth y^e kings booke to his sonne in Scotland: heare what he sayth, ptesting on his honour "As to the
 "name of puritane I am not ignorant y^t the stile thereof doth pperly
 "belong only to the vile sort called y^e Family of Love,
 p. 6] "because they thinke themselves only pure | and without
 "sinne, the only true church; of whome I principally meane
 "when I speake of Puritans. Partly to give this stile to such braine
 "sicke and heady preachers as participats to much wth there
 "humours, maintaining the above mentioned errors, not only agree-
 "ing wth the generall rule (?) of Anabaptists, in contempt of ye Civill
 "Magistrate, and leaning to there owne Dreames and Revelations,

“but particularly wth this sort, in accounting all men pphane that
 “swear not to there fantaseys in making for every particular
 “question of y^e pollicy of y^e Church as great comotion as if the
 “article of the Trinity weare called in question ; and he that denyes
 “there grounds, let him not be worthy to enjoy the benefitt of
 “breathing, much less to participate wth them of of (*sic*) the sacra-
 “ments ; and before that any of the grounds be impugned, let king
 “and people, law and all be trod underfoote : such holy warres
 “are to be p^rferred to an ungodly peace ; no, in such cases Xian
 “Princes are not only to be resisted unto, but not to be prayed
 “for, &c. But on the other part. I ptest upon mine honour I
 “meane it not generall of all preachers, or others, that like better
 “of the single forme of Pollicy in our church, then of the many
 “cerimones in the Church of England, that are perswaded that
 “there Bps smell of a papall supremacy, that the surplice, the
 “cornered cap, and such like, are ye outward badges of popish
 “errors. Noe, I am so farre from being contentious in these things
 “(w^{ch} for mine owne part ever esteemed as indifferent) as I doe
 “equally love and honour the grave men of ether of these
 “opinions.”*

4. Now upon what just grounds men peaceable[ly] and
 quitt (*sic*) and conforming to the lawes are branded with these termes
 of reproach let it be shewed ; for none such, in the opinion of these
 before and after, deserve it, but rather the contrary to be cherrished
 and encouraged in all such conformity, howsoever they may be
 yet of other opinion concerning indifferent things. These things
 had their beginning from Papists, and none but Athesticall protest-
 ants reproach quiet men wth it.

After the kings comīng in heare (?) w^{ch} was sayde : and first to the
 Papists petition answered by Gabriell Powell the Bp. of London's
 Chaplaine, noe great freind to the Puritans ; who in his Epistle to
 the reader saith that he was moved in conscience at the vile dealing
 of the Papists, who were not ashamed to the kings highnesse to
 traduce our Church from Puritnisme (*sic*) and Athisme. And the
 Petitioner coming to shew how the mayne of the Realm for religion
 consists of 4 parts, Protestants, Puritants (*sic*) Athists and
 p. 7] Chatholiques, and crave as much favour as is shewed | to
 others of contrary religion, meaning the Puritans : is
 answered, and so say (?) all, y^b it is a manifeslannder (*sic*) of Xian
 church and state, and flatt untruth, that such liberty is granted them
 in there severall religions ; shewing that the dissention betweene us
 is only concerning matters of ceremones and discipline, wch
 belong rather to the Pollicy of the church then to faith and doctrine ;
 and that Puritane is a name only to the Anabaptists and Familians,

* On the above long extract (somewhat abridged) from the preface to King James's
Basilikon Doron, it is to be noted that it was written in 1599, before James became King
 of England."

w^{ch} our Church and state doe noe way favour. And after againe the Petitioners, urging that Puritans and Athists being of contrary religion to protestants; and yet are tollerated &c, it is answered, Puritans as they term them are not contrary to protestants in religion as before.

After him see Doctor Sutlift (*Sutcliffe*) his answer unto Calleson, whoe dedicated his booke to y^e king, and in his 8 boke the 5 chap : pag : 363, shewing the diversities of opinions in England, there being Calvenist, Lutherans, Puritans, Protestants, Zwingliangs, Bezaites, Anabaptists, Brownists, Family of Love, &c., and how out of these diversities of opinions an[d] Athist[s] may easily draw his discourse, because there are so many sorts therefore will they believe none. Mr. Sutcliffe against this scrupulus (?) survey answereth, cap : II, pag : 103, Anabaptists, Libertines, Brownists, Martennists, Family of Love, Dāned crew, we generally condeme; the rest are names of slaunder devised by the papists.

Dr. Andrewes Bp. of Ely ye Kings Chaplaine y^t answers Bellarmine and all the great Papists in defence of the kinge and ye whole land in his last booke against Bellar : cap : 5 pag. 123 saith the religion of the puritanes, w^{ch} have noe religion of there owne pper or peculiar; it is only discipline that they stand for; w^{ch} notwithstanding I would have generally to be understood of Puritanes, and of such amongst them who, howsoever they are a little to much addicted to there discipline, in all other poynts they are wise wth sobriety: who although they are to much in love wth their platforme, yet in all other poynts of doctrine they are very sound; and againe, Puritans are such as differ from us in outward forme of Government, not in religion, w^{ch} is an(d) may be y^e same where the outward forme of government is otherwise. 224 In matters of fayth, nether we from them (whom he calleth Puritanes) nor they from us doe differ. 267 if a man doth differ in a little ceremony, Ceremoniotū (ubi nefas nullū abundare) if he abound in his fancies [? sences] (w^{ch} a man may lawfully doe) forthwith he cryeth out an other religion, the king hath altered his religion. 352 in all poynts sound but that they leane a little to much to the opinions of an other sect. soe the king himselve in his Apollogie for the oath of allegiants [*sic*], translated into divers languages.*

p. 8] Although I doubt not but y^t every honest and godly reader, whether he doth way my counsaile in this place where I speake of Puritans, or the end of my treatise where I speake unto princes of my profession, will easily judg that by the name of puritanes none other are understood than people and subjects whoe living under my dominion have refused to be obedient to my lawes; but for the reformed churches abroad, they nor their government are meant. For my owne parte I am throughly resolved not to meddle with other men's matters, but to leave other

* We have not been able to verify this quotation.

reformed churches to their Xian libertie : nay I am soe far from judging hardly of them y^t on the contrary I think that according to the liberty w^{ch} Xt hath appoynted unto us, that it is granted to every Xtian Kinge, Prince, and Com̄weale to prescribe an[d] outward forme of government for ecclesiasticall matters, as shall come neare to his civill government, soe they swarve not a yott from the the [*sic*] ground of fayth and Religion. God forbid therefore y^t I should judge those w^{ch} God hath exempted from my

Rom: 14. 13 jurisdiction, or fall into y^t w^{ch} being taken out of y^e Apostle is written in the forefront of my booke, let us not therefore judge one an other any more ; w^{ch} for my parte I promise and p̄fesse, and hope and desier to be performed by the(e) that art an[d] honest man, and readest this booke.

Dr. Feild. Dr. Feild, Page the 1. 2. of his answer and examination of ptended proofes for Romish religion and recusancy, saith that howsoever y^e Pampletr blameth Puritanes only, yet in truth he equally condemneth all Protestants for Puritanes. [*sic*] And where as the Pampletr alleageth Dr. Sutcliffe, Dr. Done, Feild, Willet, Wotton, Middleton, &c. y^t they teach there is noe substantiall, esentiall, or matteriall poynt of difference in religion betweene p̄testants and Puritanes, but they are of one church, fayth, and Religion : Answereth for his owne parte he never wrott any such thing, but what if I had written, sayth he, y^t there are some materiall differences betweene Protestants and Puritanes as it pleaseth him to stile them, yet not so esentiall or substantiall but that they may be of one Church, Fayth, and Religion. Are there not greater differences betweene Papists, who will be angry if they be not esteemed to be of one Church, Faith, and Religion. Pope John the 22th though(t) the soules of the just should not see God till the generall resurrection : And y^e French wth the whole Universitie of Paris condemned the same opinion as hereticall.

The Arch : Bp. deales very favourablye wth thim, as was of late reported to an honest man. Dr. Abbots at y Act. 1613 willed men to leave of(f) that name of Puritanes wronging of Calvin : Dr. King Bp of London reprooved a minister sharply for saying he would preach against the Puritanes, and told him, if he ever heard he did he would punish him for it.

p. 9] The Civill Magistrate deales favourably with them, as of late at a Quartr Sessions, an[d] honest Minister branded wth that name of reproach a justice of Peace answered at the Bench that they wronged him, sainge he conformed to the state and government of ye Church.

The L Cheife justice the L. Cooke at an Assise held in Coventry approved them honest men that conformed. And one y^t would be a great man in the Towne, be(ing) asked what he thought of such and such by name (That are called Puritanes) he answered that if there were any honest men in the towne they were them.

Dr. South, a Counselor betwene Mr. Johnson and some of the Towne branded wth this name, justified them to be honest men, and willed him to use them kindly, wishing that he had some such under his charge. And it is a slaunder to our religion and the state to brand them wth such names that conformes, and giveth advantage to Papists.

Docter Collins in his booke written in latten against ^{4?} Endymion Porter.) Enderion, pag: 247. heere what he sayth concerning Puritanes, questioned by him. The Kings M^{sty} affirms in y^e p^rface to his sonne, that he found more faith in the bordering theeves then in Puritanes. Bee it soe; doth the king at any time accuse the French of perfidiusnesse, who (if I be not deceived) do submitt themselves to the Kings Authoritie, as not any other more willingly in the whole Xian worlde. The very cleare marrow of puritanisme doth raigne there, if in any place.

coll: I beleeve you meane the p^rfessours of Xian religion that are most forward. stoute, and of a singular zeale and unconquered constancy, vertue and honesty, and off wonderfull caution and circumspection in the whole carriage of there life. For Puritane indeed is the name of a sect wth the King: & doth note those w^{ch} doe arrogate unto themselves purity before others ridiculously, and say, as the Prophet hath it, Depart further of(f) for I am purer then thou: which sort is so ancient y^t we doe read they were condemned in the most first ancient counsels [*sic*], the Nicene and y^e Constantinopolitane by the name of Catheroie. But to you those are Puritanes w^{ch} stoutly denijng the corruptions of the age, and the stincke of your superstitions, doe search after God wth a sincere hearte; of the w^{ch} sorte of peeple the Lord himselfe sayth: "if you separate the pretious from the vilde." Jer: 15. 19.

End: The Calvenist are a turbelent kinde of peeple, and it is a wonder y^t they had not burnt the whole kindome of France, or overthrowne or brought it to utter ruine. As

coll. Beza, Farrell, and Virett. But ours are unquiett, thou sayest. Tell me, thou varlett, where in ours are unquiett: let passe all vagaries and alleag[d] any speciall crime: Tell wherein Beza, Farrell, and the rest have offended, unlesse p. 10] they have cast out the strong man possessing the house | by the power of a stronger. &c. What is so contrary to a desperate mind as the preaching of the truth, w^{ch} our Saviour hath compared to a sword and to fier. Chrisostome saith "I have not fier in my hand, but I have doctrine more vehement than fier for heat [?]" ; Otherwise those most holy men, excellent devines w^{ch} are be fore named, have not bin troublesome to any one, not only by the hand, but not with any light footsteppe tending that way; None of w^{ch} did ever make the streetes of any citty run with blood, or make a massacre an Item to that bloody night.

Parsons
against
Sir Francis
Hastings. You are wount to deride and laugh at us as men following delight and effemateness, and breathing out noe manlynesse, much lesse troubling or tormoyling; w^{ch} although it was a false accusation, yet it overthrowes y^t of yours heere.

David Owing B^{ler} of Divinity having māy bitter things against Puritanes, by name charging Calvin, Beza, Farrell, Viret, and divers latter writers, whome he coupleth wth y^e Popish faction, to agree together, for y^e coercion, deposition, and killing of Kings, is answered by that of Dr. Coll: before, and also by Sampson Price Preacher to y^e city of Oxford in his Sermon at Paules Crosse, Anno 1613, intituled London's warning by Lauodiceas [*sic*] Lukewarm-
Pag: nesse. Such [?] of blessed Calvin; soe shall I never stille
33 them: they would never yeald to any king y^t would draw them from God. Their speeches may be wrested, but never any true inference collected y^t y^ey p^tended treason. They have Poysoned soules therefore w^{ho} by a Popish conceite of Herod and Pilate reconciled would bring these worthy instruments of Gods Church wthin y^e compasse of any bloody desinge. Lett such learne to follow the rule of Tertullian; if they have any knowledg to imploy it to witnes truth, not to helpe falshode.

This David Owen his booke, for the maine of it is nothing else but Certaine lies and slaunders, w^{ch} the Jesuits heretofore have charged Calvin and Beza and the reformed Churches wthall. And the very selfe same particulars are answered by Dr. Bilson Bp. of Winchester, long before this Owen his booke came forth, as heere it followeth:—

Owen pag: 46 John Calvin inst: lib. 4 chap: 20 sect: 31. Puritanes turne his conditionall conjunction into an illative.

Dr. Bilson: pag. 506 Calvin, so well knowne by those that were learned and wise, that a few snarling friars cannot impeach his name, though you never so wrechedly pervert his words.

p. 11] Beza in his Confession &c.

Owen pag. 48 You have already belied Calvin, and now you take the
Bil. pag 510 like courses wth Beza and the french churches. There speeches can be noe detraction of Calvin his words if they did leane that way w^{ch} you make them, as they doe not; and therefore this is but friars trick to abuse both writers and readers. We will give you his undoubted judgment, out of his own workes, quite against that you slaunder him with.
pag. 511 Beza demure in comūni coetu; the outlandish churches in London concluded: Beza: Episto: 24 et pag: 49; thesis Genevensis episto. dedicat.

Bil: pag 513 The divill himselfe can shew noe greater mallice then to pervert y^t w^{ch} is well spoken and to force a lude sence of his owne on an other mans words: it is evident they never meant y^t if the magistrate once violate God's due the people might depose him. The manifold formes of Comon-

Pag: 513

wealths make divers men speake diversly of y^e magistrates sword. They may lawfully resist him and by force reduce him to the ancient and received forme of gover(n)ment, or else expell him as a Tirant and sett another in his place by the right and freedome of the country.

Pag: 514 What soverangty the peeple of Israell had over their Kings is a question among the learned.

Owen : Epist Dedicat. et pag : 47. Concerning Goodman.

Bill : pag: 516 The party you name when the wrote thought not Q. Mary to be a lawful prince, w^{ch} particular and false supposall beguiled him. Goodman's opinion, w^{ch} himselfe long since hath disliked is noe way serviceable for your seditions. Were it a poynt of doctrine or parte of faith, it had not yet small shew [?] to charge the rest wth one man's verdict ; but a singular and superfluous assertion, it hath noe more ground then if I pronounce all [?] Popes Conjurers and Athists, because John the 12th and Silvester the 2 were soe.

Princes may be stayed from tyrinie by there owne
Pag: 521 Realmes, though not deposed : where in 6 or 7 lines are fully answered the 37 leaves of Owen against the reformed Churches. Dr. Bancroft in a sermon at Paules X upon the I of John 4 ' Dearely Beloved believe not every sperite ' &c. maketh a large discourse against the new platforme, and to show how dangerous it is like to prove to the state, he alleageth what hath bin done in forraine parts by many whom he there nameth ; concluding Pag : 80 that whatsoever hath bin done abroad is laboured to be put in execution at home ; and Page the 83 hath ' I do verily feare that except good order be taken, and that in time, these p. 12] things will grow to some extremities : | where we see no crime alleged all this while.

Earle of Salisbury in answer to certaine Scandalous Papers, 1606. " And now for an answer to your proscripsts, wherein you seeke soe much to diverte mee from suspecting those whome you call puritanes to be author of this slaunder. I have only this to say ; that you should never have needed to put yourselfe to soe much Paines for that perswation, seeing nether the regular Protestant, nor those that are unconformable to the present discipline of the Church can ever be justly charged to have mixed their private differences with any thoughts, much lesse any acts, of bloody Massacres."

Englands second sumons, by Thomas Sutton at Paules X 1615 ; one highly comended by ye Lord Cheife Justice of England when he had done. Pag: 98 sayth " which conclusion may serve to stopp the stentorious mouth, and pare [?] the satericall and bloody pencills of some men, who in all their learning can find none that either disquiect or endannger the Church ; but the strict P(r)esciscian who cannot swallow downe some of our seremonies, and therefore

mploy theire whole strenght, and spend theire whole life, in humbling them, who are brought allready to the lowest nadire, as if they had swept and purged the church of all hir impostumes, where as yet our churches hang full of Romish spiders, who in the Italion cobwebbs would strangle our English soules. God forbid that ever my Penne should Patrone any peevisish Sismatiques ; only it weere to be wished that some men would not heerein place theire felicity, to count this theire greatest service to God and the church, to trounce and ferret a few poore and dispised men ; but rather that they would rayse hue and cry after lukewarme professours ; and carnall Gospellors, and close Athists, and sleepy sibberites [*i.e.* Sybarites] ; that they would keepe Romish fier from our English tinder. These, these are the traytours, Sinons that trouble our church ; these are the wormes that breed in the body, and these the impostumes that desease the wombe of our mother. Such hot frensies are Novatianisme and Catharisme and Brownism, we seldome or never heard of in this frozen Climate of yron age wherein we live : most of our deseases are cold eclipses, dead Apoplexies, and Slumbering Lethargies ; and surely happy should be the penn that might but wound one of these disturbures, and happy should be the toung that might discomfitt one of these Pyoners" [?]

p. 13] "I am pswaded there was never poore persecuted word since mallice first seized upon the damned Angels, and the graces of heaven dwelt in the heart of man, that passed through the mouths of all sortes of unregenerated men wth more distastefulness and gnashing of teeth than the name of Puritane doth at this day ; which notwithstanding as it is now comonly meant, and ordinarily proceeds from ye spleene and speritt of Prophanes and goodfellowship is an[d] honourable nickname that I may soe speake of Xtianity and grace."

Mr. Bolton
3 Edition of
true happy:

Dr Douham
Abr. Triall:
Pag. 72.

Which saying of his is seconded by Dr. Douham (*Downname*) whose words allsoe by him are alleaged : and even in these times the Godly live among such a generation of men, as that if a man doe but laboure to keepe a good conscience in any measure all though[t] he meddle not with matters of state or discipline, or Ceremonyes, (as for example if a minister diligently [*sic*] preach, or in his preaching seeke to proffitt rather then to please, remembering the saying of the Apost : If I seeke to please men I am not the servant of Xt Gall : 1 : 10 ; or if a private Xn make conscience of swearing, sanctifying the sabbath, frequenting sermons, or abstaining from the comon corruptions of the time ;) he shall be straitway [be] condemmed for a Puritane, and consequently be lesse favoured than a Carnall Gospellour or a close Papist."

Samuell Ward, Ba^{l^{ro}} of Divinitie at a sermon at Ipswich at a generall visitation, intituled a Coale from the Altar, "In the

Primitive Church all mutinies and contentions weere layd to the charge of the Martirs ; true it is, where zeale is there is opposition, and soe consequently troubles. Christ setts this fier on earth, not as author but by accident. The theife is the author of the fray, though the true man strike never so many blowes ; but the Ahabs of the world trouble Israell, then complaine of Eliah ; & The papists will blow up the state, then father it upon the puritanes. It is not for a wise man to beleeve the tithes of the tales and slaunders which fly abroad of the zealous : Lewde men would faine strike at all goodness through their sides."

"They have sought with Nero to sett Roome on fier, and after to lay the blame upon Xians."

Earle of
Salisbury.
Awn. Scan-
dalous
papers 1605.

Samuell Warde pag : 40. I hope the states puritane, and the comon Puritane be two creatures ; for wth that stalfe the multitude beates all that are better then themselves, and lets fly at all that have any shew of goodnesse."

Dr. John Stoughton the Elder

TO most readers of Puritan history or divinity the name of John Stoughton merely recalls the predecessor of Calamy at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury; or at most a Puritan preacher of exceptional eloquence, who shared in the sufferings consequent upon persecution carried on by Laud and the High Commission. A closer study of his career may shew more clearly what obstacles beset those who founded the Puritan colony in Massachusetts.

Of the place or date of John Stoughton's nativity nothing is certainly known. But from conjecture from the contents of a list of fellows and members of various colleges at Cambridge (B.M. MSS. Add. 5851), and from the suggestion furnished by consociation, more than once, of the names of Stoughton, Cudworth, and Rich, it seems highly probable that he was a son of Thomas Stoughton, vicar of Great Coggeshall, in Essex; and that he was born about 1589. He had two brothers: Thomas, afterwards a New England magnate, and Israel, of whom more hereafter.

Thomas Stoughton, the elder, suffered for some kind of Nonconformity, and was deprived about 1607. He was succeeded by Ralph Cudworth, fellow of Emmanuel College, who was presented to the benefice by Robert, Lord Rich. Cudworth is noted in the Composition Books, under date 21 January, 4 James I (*i.e.* 1607 N.S.), as "newly vicar"; but he remained only a short time, removing to Aller, in Somerset, and being succeeded on 8th

March by John Heily. The dates of Stoughton's deprivation, and of Cudworth's resignation, as given in Anthony à Wood's *Fasti*, differ slightly from those in the Composition Book and in Bancroft's *Register*; but those above extracted are doubtless accurate. Thomas Stoughton seems to have remained in Coggeshall for some years after his deprivation; for the baptismal register of the parish contains an entry: "Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Stoughton, March 20, 1613/4."

John Stoughton entered Emmanuel College in 1607. The choice of a college indicates that his family was Puritan; and the fact of his entry as a sizar shews that means were exiguous. This is easily explicable if his father had lately suffered deprivation. His lack of spiritual wealth was recounted by himself long afterwards, in a letter to his old tutor, William Sancroft of Withersdale, sometime Master of Emmanuel, who died in 1637:

"I think often" he writes in November, 1615, "upon that which once you said, that I was the worst pupil that ever you had; a hainous crime, and yet as true and yet more hainous, when I consider the occasion of these words, which were upon my negligence at prayers."

Curiously enough, in the same Harleian MSS. there exist letters from Ralph Cudworth, who had been Sancroft's tutor, deploring minor faults of his pupil, the holes he wore in his hose, and his over indulgence in fruit. Sancroft, who had so little care of worldly things, became Master of his college; whereas Stoughton, who would not say his prayers in the beginning of his life, nearly ended his days in gaol for desiring to say them in unorthodox fashion in later years.

Prior to the date of Stoughton's letter above quoted, he had graduated Bachelor of Arts in 1610, and Master of Arts in 1614. To complete the details of his academical career, he became

Bachelor of Divinity in 1621; Fellow, and finally, in 1626, Doctor, of Divinity. During his fellowship he preached before King James I at Trinity College, Cambridge, on the Happiness of Peace. The sermon lacks no courtliness of phrase; but it is plainly directed against the Spanish alliance, the French alliance, or any other alliance that would, in Stoughton's opinion, tend to place again upon the nation the yoke of Rome.

What may have been his opinions about the affairs of his own day is of little interest in ours. But it is difficult to believe that greater pulpit orator ever jewelled a sentence to more curious beauty than Stoughton. Each phrase shines with elaborated work consciously wrought. Indeed, as revealed by his sermons he must have been of parts nothing short of extraordinary. In rare moments, behind the brilliance of rhetoric there glows and burns the passion of the love of God. For the most part his addresses are couched in language of striking dignity, always melodious, often convincing. The scholarship revealed, sentence by sentence, makes of their contents a treasury of patristic learning, classified under the head that the preacher was considering, and a storehouse of quaint lore and anecdote. In one of his sermons is first found the tale of a lady in Marian days, who, despairing of her salvation, threw to the ground the mirror that she held in her hand, saying that as surely as it would be broken so surely her soul would be damned. And Stoughton, averring that the mirror remained perfect to his day, used the story to teach his audience a lesson of trust, that they and he might in their human image reflect the indestructible splendours of God.

In the summer of 1624 Ralph Cudworth, already mentioned, died at Aller, probably somewhat

suddenly. He left four children: James, Ralph, John, and Elizabeth. His wife Mary, who also survived him, was of the famous house of Machell, and had been the nurse of Henry, Prince of Wales, the son of James I. On 24th August Dr. Stoughton was presented to the rectory of Aller, a college advowson which had accrued to Emmanuel in 1586 by gift of the Earl of Huntingdon.

Not long after his settlement at Aller, Dr. Stoughton married the widow of his predecessor, with whom his life had already been strangely tangled. His care of Cudworth's children was such as to reflect all possible credit upon his scholarship and humanity. In 1632 his stepson Ralph, afterwards the most famous English philosopher of the Cambridge school, was sent to Emmanuel; and Stoughton was able to boast that he went thither as well grounded in school learning as any of his age had ever gone to an university.

In the same year, 1632, Stoughton removed to London; being appointed incumbent of St Mary, Aldermanbury. About the same time James Cudworth set sail for the Massachusetts colony, as would appear likely in the ship *Charles*, which carried Hatherley. The foundation of this colony was largely the work of John White, minister of Dorchester. Of this extraordinary man the *Dictionary of National Biography* contains an interesting notice. To the Puritan Nonconformists of his day he bore a relation not unlike that which the late Dr. F. G. Lee had with the more advanced of the Tractarians. Like Lee, White anticipated changes in the doctrine and practice of the Church of England, which should render possible the ministration of his disciples within her fold. While sympathising with their refusal to conform to aught that might offend their conscience, White

seems to have been quite unable to find in mere Nonconformity any ground of justification for the constitution of Separatist bodies. In the most interesting of his pamphlets, *The Planter's Plea*, he expressly denies sympathy with separation. His great influence over large congregations enabled him to extract from them considerable sums, which, augmented by gifts and legacies from sympathisers, he devoted to the purposes of his colony, and the relief of ministers distressed for Nonconformity. In one case he anticipated the device of the Simeon Trustees; for the aid of nonconforming ministers he bought the advowson of Seaton—whether that in Devon or in Rutland I am by no means sure. The Calendars of the Domestic State Papers indicate the former; but a conjecture that the latter is intended is favoured by the fact that Stoughton's stepdaughter, Elizabeth Cudworth, married Josias Beacham, the rector there.

This stepdaughter was living in London when a letter was addressed to Dr. Stoughton by one James Forbes. Whether he ever received it is uncertain; it may have been intercepted in transit, or seized at the time of his subsequent arrest. However, it is among the Domestic State Papers of 1633-4, indorsed as "discovering the correspondence held by Dr. Stoughton with some irregular fugitive ministers, living about Amsterdam and the parts beyond the seas."¹ A second indorsement calls attention to the "scandalous passages" contained in the letter referring to the States. Much of Forbes's correspondence has relation to the plans of Dury, an enthusiast who hoped to unite the Protestant bodies of the continent and the Church of England in one Anti-Roman organ-

¹ A Report concerning these ministers is contained in S.P.D. cccx, 103. I have summarized its contents in C.H.S. *Trans.*, vol. 5, p. 290.

ization. To this end he visited Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, corresponded with Sir Thomas Roe, and sought to avoid the ill graces of Laud ; all to equally little purpose, save that this busy friend of the influential great occasionally accomplished indiscretions sufficient to justify suspicion of his friends. The beneficiary of White, the friend of fugitive ministers (among whom was Hugh Peters), might reasonably incur imputations of disaffection ; and the intercourse with Elizabeth had peculiar significance to those who remembered the Puritan complicity with designs to replace James I by Arabella Stuart. Dury was carefully watched ; his letters from abroad, as those addressed to White and Stoughton, were read, and detained or forwarded according to their contents. This, at least, is suggested by the contents of the Domestic State Papers.

On 8th April, 1634, Forbes condoles with Stoughton on the prolonged illness of his wife. She died before 4th August of that year. Under that date another detained letter to Stoughton, from John Browne of Brampton, refers to her death. Browne also records that the Earl of Holland, sitting as Justice in Eyre at Gloucester, had raised great fines on those who had destroyed the woods in the Forest of Dean : "The Vicar General," he proceeds, "has likewise returned, and has raised a good sum for procurations, licences, etc. He pressed the use of the ceremonies, standing up at the Epistle and Gospel, bowing at the name of Jesus, etc. At Charminster Mr. Dyke, minister of the place, told the people that the Right Reverend Father in God, Sir Nathaniel Brent, had given a strict charge that they should all bow at the Name of Jesus, and that there was more reason that they should bow at the Name of Jesus than the Name of Christ, because there were

false Christs spoken of, but no false Jesus." If this letter seems harmless to us of this day, it must be remembered that intent to alter the form of religion established was an offence in a cleric of Laud's period. If to this intent could be added proof that Stoughton had collected and managed funds for those Puritans whom the Government regarded not only as schismatics but as disloyal subjects, a charge would certainly lie in the Court of High Commission.

Part of the evidence was supplied by a letter of December, 1634, from one Mercy Huffam, who, writing to Martha, Lady Young, besought her to use her daughter Lady Wentworth's influence with Stoughton "to impart a small portion of those Christian bounties which should come into his hands to the writer, in respect of her great wants."

If grounds for suspicion still lacked, Stoughton's precautions would have suggested to the vigilant agents of the Government that he had somewhat to conceal. Sir Thomas Wroth wrote to him from Petherton Park in September, apparently of 1634, a letter that plainly indicated intention to resist further persecution of Nonconformity by those means of armed rebellion to which resort was actually made only a few years later. He says that he has received the doctor's affectionate letter by his, the writer's, wife, but she had been better welcome if she had brought the doctor along with her in her coach. Plain as daylight to Sir John Lambe and his fellow plot-smellers would be the true interpretation: "You have committed yourself all too cautiously (because you have but written). Yet had you accompanied my wife, so that we might speak face to face, you had been the better welcome, as joined in company with her, her associate in the same enterprise." The writer

then proceeds as follows: "I collect by what you wrote that all things go on from worse to worse in your parts, and the face of affairs where I am hath as unpleasing an aspect, so that I see no hope of amendment, nor are the churches abroad (for aught appears to me) like to have any sudden rest. . . . It will argue some patience if we quietly suffer usquam ad rerum amissionem, but it will be a great evidence of true Christian resolution if we suffer usque ad sanguinis effusionem for preservation of faith and a good conscience."

The clause last quoted can bear only one interpretation. The law provided no method whereby the blood of Puritans could be shed in their preservation of the opinions they conscientiously held. Blood could be shed only in the course of armed resistance, inspired by a spirit of resolution that had renounced patience as untimely. This rendering and paraphrase may appear forced. Yet, if the letter were but mere regret of the tendencies of the Laudian government, was it necessary to commence the letter "Worthy Doctor," but, in the mode of a conspirator, to superscribe its cover "Sir Thomas Wroth to Lady Elizabeth Cleere at her house in Coleman Street." The import attached to this superscription is evidenced by the nature of the indorsement of the letter now included among the Domestic State Papers: "A dangerous or seditious letter sent by one Thomas Wroth to Doctor Stoughton, but to colour the matter directed to a lady in Coleman Street."

The nature of the design to which Stoughton refused to commit himself is partially shewn by an exhibit that formed part of evidence tendered against him thereafter in the Court of High Commission (D.S.P., cclxxx., 65). Who was the author of this paper is unknown. Some similar paper is alluded to by Forbes in an earlier letter

(cclviii., 62), as having been forwarded to Sir Nathaniel Rich to shew to Stoughton. The contents of the later document embraced the explicit statements: "That it is the duty of God's people to separate from the Church of England, because the offices and officers thereof received their life and being, not from the power of Christ but from an ecclesiastical state that is Babylonish and procreated by her that sitteth on many waters. Secondly, It is the duty of those who separate to set up the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and constitute themselves a body for the performance of his visible worship."

To hold these opinions and to retain a salaried position in the Babylonish body would be impossible for a sincere and honest man. Probably Stoughton wavered between two opinions, awaiting the sign that should point the true Sacrifice of God, before he withdrew from the company of the priests of Baal.

All through this year, 1634, he recognised his peril. Henry Whitfield, a disaffected cleric who retained his cure, warned him in March that he was like to be questioned. At the same time he asked of Stoughton whether he could find a young man as curate who could read prayers and help in the administration of the sacraments, but who need be no preacher. For him he offered 20^{li} per annum, and, if Stoughton could help him, he might send to Mr. Stone in Cateaton Street. The delightful candour of the statement that preaching just then was accounted at no great rate, and the paltriness of the salary offered, excuse the irrelevance of the quotation of the latter part of the letter.

Meanwhile, amidst the complex of dubiety of action and disaffection of mind, both White and Stoughton sufficiently shewed that they knew

whither their courses tended. White exercised over his followers enormous influence. By this influence gifts and legacies were secured, of which now he and now Stoughton was trustee ; in either cases to uses quite indefinite. Hester Powell writes to Dr. "Stoton" under date 3rd June, 1635, thanking him that he had been the instrument of her comfort and standing in Curry Rivall (three miles from Aller), theretofore destitute of the means of grace, and desiring one John Adams to pay to Stoughton the money that the writer's sister, Philippa Hill, had bequeathed to him in her last will and testament, fifty pounds. For the words of her will :

"Item I do give and bequeath unto Mr. Doctor Stoton of London, being late of Aller in the countie of Somerset. And Mr. John Whitte of Dorchester ministers of the word of God to be disposed of by them to such good uses as they shall thinke fitt one hundred pounds."

Out of this sum Mrs. Powell beseeches Stoughton to remember Mr. Paviore of Langport (two miles from Aller), who stood in great need of outward means.

Of what sums White and Stoughton were legatees, the subsequent proceedings against them will shew, yet in the matter of the particular receipt concerning which they were finally accused they may have been innocent. This sum, which Stoughton alleged was the collected portion due to his stepchildren from their mother's estate, was suspected by the Court of High Commission to be a sum collected for the fugitive and disaffected ministers beyond the seas in New England. The course of many letters indicate that a part of the sum, by no means inconsiderable, would have made its way to New England. Stoughton was in communication with his stepson, James, who had been among the earliest of the settlers in Scituate,

and with his brother, Captain Israel Stoughton. Lack of ordinary necessities compelled the early settlers to seek for themselves the disbursement of sums left behind in England in the hands of friends. It was not for the treasonable propagation of Brownist or Presbyterian doctrine that Stoughton disbursed his stepson's money in England, and forwarded the produce to the New England settlements, but for the putting of clothes on Mrs. Cudworth's back, and tools in her husband's hands. Yet, of course, Stoughton, sharer of so many confidences, was fully apprised of the hopes of those whom the Government then viewed as potentially disloyal, and who justified expectation in aftertime by returning from Massachusetts to smooth the way to the scaffold for their former persecutors.

In 1634, however, the colony was occupied rather with intestine differences than by any memory of the causes that had driven them from England. The Antinomian heresy, the Indians, and a stubborn soil had all contributed to vexation. Governor John Winthrop had frankly termed Captain Israel Stoughton "a troubler in Israel," and the worthy captain wrote a long letter in May, 1634, to his brother to acquaint him with the fact. Much in the letter has interest for those whose pulse would beat none the quicker for any recountal of the woes of the Stoughtons.

Mr. Patrickson, Cradock's agent, it says, had come in the spring. The settlers' hopes were frequently aroused by the news of ships that were to come in the summer, but save that one that had borne Patrickson none had arrived. "I am willing," Israel Stoughton proceeds, "to wait a while before writing of some occurrences here. You will hear many of them. Believe not all of them as reported with aggravation. Captain Indicott did deface the

cross in the banner upon his own private head, and is now left out of place of government."

This refers to an act that had caused much controversy in the colony. A banner had been borne, apparently by the State militia. Upon this banner was a cross. The sight of the heathenish, Babylonish emblem was naturally grievous to the Christian minds that found their spiritual sustenance in occasions of meticulous differences. The cross was cut from the banner, and was presumably more visible than ever, subsequent to its removal.

"That part," says Stoughton, "that so deeply condemned the simple use of a cross in banners, had (*i.e.* would have) overborne and crushed the other party, though the bigger, by force. The greater part of the ministers had washed their hands of the deed." In view of the general iconoclasm of later years, testimony to the good sense of the refugee ministers is pleasant to record. One at least of those most averse from the approbation of the deed was Hooker, to whose exertions the defeat of the extremists in the councils of the colony was due.

This Hooker had been, apparently, assistant minister to Mr. *John* Forbes, when that latter was minister to the merchants in the Netherlands. Of Hooker it is recorded that in that post he used no set form in the administration of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, or Marriage; and in his church at Delft would not baptise children, because he could not be assured of the faith of their parents.

The third paragraph of Stoughton's letter enters into details of the manner of the government of the colony. For one whole year after he had come to New England, the government was solely in the hands of the assistants, the people chose them magistrates, and then they made laws at their

discretion. Later, it appears, money was wanted, and inquisition was made into the constitution prescribed by the patent, then in the possession of Winthrop. In the May preceding the date of the letter, Stoughton was chosen a comitty by his town, and by the committee chief speaker (there being three speakers). The office of assistant he did not accept. A second general court was held in the August following, not for the making choice of magistrates, but for the making of laws. There Stoughton opposed the negative voice for magistrates. This negative voice was a device that would have necessitated unanimity among the legislators as a condition prior to the promulgation of a law. On the matter of this opposition to the negative voice Stoughton had consulted Mr. Ludlow, an assistant, and his fellow townsman at the New England Dorchester.

In the March following, a third council was held to debate the troubles that had arisen in consequence of the action commonly reputed to have been Endicott's—the defacing of the banner. At this Stoughton was again comitty and speaker, “though this time not chiefe.” In his stead was “Mr. Bellengum, a great man and a lawier.” “I was asked,” Stoughton says, “to give my opiniou in writing about the negative voice, which for a long time I refused until three men of our church came to me in the name of Mr. Warhum our pastor saying the ministers were to meet about it, and they pressed my conscience that I sinned if I refused. I gave but one sheet of paper, and on it twelve reasons.”

Mr. Cotton, who had preached at first for the magistrates having a negative, desired the paper, took it home, and in the simplicity of his heart sent the reasons to Mr. Winthrop. At the court forthcoming, to Stoughton's utter surprise, he was

accused of writing a book against the magistrates. "This," said Mr. Winthrop, "is the man that hath been the troubler of Israel: such a worm as that of which Mr. Hooker hath spoken in his sermon, an underminer of the State, and yet who but Mr. Stoughton in the eye of his country." Winthrop added that he had from a special friend (probably Dr. Wright) a letter of good report of Stoughton, that he was a man worthy of Winthrop's acquaintance; nevertheless Stoughton had never come near him. Wherein Stoughton acknowledges that Winthrop spake truly, and that he had been "somewhat fayling through shamefulness and a natural failing that way."

His paper was read. The lack of a comma made of one portion of his reasons such strange boasting, that, until the paper was returned to Stoughton to peruse, he could not believe that he was rightly accused. He had also called the assistants, not magistrates, but ministers of justice, and he pleads the custom of London and its printed oath for freemen. O London, never known save by thy exiles, unblessed mother of all things blessed, here arose one who amidst all his weaknefs sang thy song in a strange city, and quoted thy doings as precedent sufficient for him, thy child, against fierce ministers and savage governors. Captain Israel Stoughton, be thy old faults what they may, thou didst ring Bow Bells first and valiantly in the ears of Red Indian and savage Devonian and call on both to understand its music. Peace be to thy ashes.

Stoughton's letter proceeds with the placid tolerance that the memory of London had evoked:

"I confesse some words were very playne English such as to some is offensive. I desired it should be burnt for peace sake. So yt business ended, yet so they caused it to be recorded yt such a thing was burnt as weak and offensive."

Finally, Stoughton was forbidden any office for three years. "It should be too tedious," he proceeds, "to relate to you the private passages of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Ward and many other ministers about this business."

The great general court followed upon 6th May, 1634. One Mr. Haynes was chosen governor, "a very Godly man." Stoughton writes of his enemy, Winthrop, in his downfall :

"He is indeed a man of men, and a worthy magistrate, notwithstanding some few passages. He esteems the cross a gross idol. His doings concerning me furthred his downfall."

Israel Stoughton's town petitioned on his behalf that the order of the court might be deleted, "for he held no Anabaptisticall opinions upon magistracy."

He concludes his letter with a request to his brother to tell all these things to their mother for her satisfaction. Otherwise the contents of the letter are private : save that they may be used for vindication, if necessary.

Israel Stoughton has never received the vindication he desired. The facts of his life are related in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Such relation can never form a vindication—in the case of many of us the bare relation would be a posthumous outrage. Summarised and interpreted, the life reads thus :—

He emigrated to Massachusetts in 1630, aided in the foundation of Dorchester, became one of the first freemen in 1633, and wrote a book very displeasing to the general court. He saved the hangman the work of burning his production publicly, by declaring it pernicious privately, was declared incapable of holding office for three years ; and did not do so, in fact, for a good eighteen months.

Then he laid down his feeble pen and took

up a very offensive sword, wielded with equal indiscretion. His conduct of the campaign against the Pequot Indians was marked neither by ability nor by humanity. In conjunction with Captain Endicott he had an opportunity at a later period of essaying his talents as a diplomat, and was one of the Massachusetts commissioners in boundary disputes that had arisen with Plymouth.

In 1643, and, again in the following year, he visited England, became lieutenant-colonel in the parliamentary army, and fortunately died at Lincoln before he could display, on his native soil, the military and civil qualities that had distinguished him, alike with heathen and with Christian, with friend and foe, as a troublesome and brutal fanatic.

The verdict is justified by the evidence heretofore published, but what Stoughton wanted his mother to believe is probably, poor fellow, what he desired—and bungled.

Another troubler of the lesser Israel unjustly maligned was the Captain John Endicott, who was said to have effected that mutilation of a banner bearing a cross, of which James Cudworth bears witness in the letter following. I have transcribed it, without abbreviation, because of its interest to New England people :

“Citewat, the ... of december, 1634.

“Dear Worthey sur, my Bounden duty and earnest affectione in the bowells of love to you remembered and alsoe to my most deare mother, the Lord who is the searcher of the heart and treyer of the Raynes knows that I doe unfainedly desier the peace, prosperity and well fare both of your soules and bodieyes as of mine owne. These are to let you understand that I have received your godly and peyous letter full of grace and holsum exhortations, which arguis your unfaind desieres and continuall endeoures for the good of my soule. And indeed I have cause if euer any had to bless the Lord that euer

I saw you, for under God you have been the gretest instrument of good to mee in the world, and since my absence from you the care you had of mee with your paynes in labouring with mee is frequent in my mind and due take a depe impretion in my soule and have bine an instrumentall cause of workinge mee nerer unto and walking Closer with the Lord and more and more to see the Vanity of all these outward thinges and that fullness which is in Christ Jesus.

“I desier that you will be as frequent in your letters as you may for I finde a grete dele of swetnes in them, for they put a greadele of quickening life and edge unto my affection and you know the best in this life are subiect to grow Cold in our perfection that wee dayley neade some exortation and consolation both to provoke to the practice of holy thinges and to soport us in the time of temptation or Affliction that we may wade thorow all the difficulteyes of this short life with Cheerfullness of harte labouring to make some benefit to our soules of all the Lord's dealinges with us whether they be merseyes that they may alure us or Chastisementes that they may correct and amend us ore Judgementes that they may terifye us or Afflictions that they may Resine us so that at lenght wee may bee more than Conquerors ouer all oure Corruptions so that wee may serve the Lord with the hole man and worshipinge him acordinge as he has Reueled in his holy word walkinge in the way and order of the gospell standinge fore the purity of his ordinance and as Moses would not part with nor leaue a chose behinde for of those he was to serve his god, so not to part with one of the ordinances but to be Redye to laye downe our liue for them for with these wee must serue our God.”

The underscoring indicates the passages in which sedition was discerned by the Government official who perused the passages, pen in hand. Had, not Dr. Stoughton, but James Cudworth, been in peril from the contents of this letter, but little sympathy could be felt for the culprit. His letter contains no passage that rises from the level of the trite, commonplace formulae of the preachers whom he heard weekly. To inflict them upon a man of the calibre of Stoughton, who was capable of expressing them with charm that disguised their repetition, was nothing short of the impertinence of deliberate boredom. Yet, in war and action,

James Cudworth did his part manfully and cleanly. If he talked copy book headlines uncouthly, he lived them gracefully. With this so much of a protest against a man who was not only much in earnest, but who insisted upon declaring it most repulsively upon all occasions, I will let him resume :

“I am very sorry to hear of your sicknes : my prayers shall and have bin Continually to the Lord for you. I sall intreate you to bear with pasience what the Lord shall lay upon your labouringe to make a santifide use of all his dealinges and in all thinges submitinge yowre willes unto his and then all thinges shall worke together for the best unto those that loue him.

Also I understand that there *is like to be 20 li. lost by walter gamblinge*² if it be so I know it is the lordes doinge and if I consider what haue I that I haue not receued from the Lord, nay what haue I deserued, shurly nathing but eternall wrath and condemnation, therefore let him doe with his owne as seemeth good in his eyes. I thank the Lord it is no trouble but rather ease of Rejoysing when I way a temporal life with a spiritual gayne, when the Lord is pleased even to befole me there that I could not manage my affeyeres with Comfort, even as if the Lord should say it is but a foly to a tempe anythings afote heare : I will take away thy abilityes, thou shalt not be able to go thorow stich with anythinge heare, but thou must goe far from thine owne land and fateres house aud theree will I Reveale myself unto thee and theree shalt thou honer worship and serue me as I shall Reveal to thee out of my sacred word. I doe ingeniously freely confesse to you now the Lord has brought mee hether and in a small measure made me acquainted with his weyes and how and in *what manner hee will be worshipped*. In all, though heare bee many difficultyes to be undergone yet I account it *a excelent mersey that the Lord has brought mee to see that which my forefateres desired to see but could not : to see so many Churches walking in the way and order of the gospell Injoyinge that Christian liberty that Christ has purchased for us*, and to relate to you that which yeet I have nat Concerning the estate of New England heare and these Churches

² The witnesses to the nuncupatory will of Ralph Cudworth (b. 1572, d. 1624), 116 Byrde are Margaret Wroth, Anthony Barbery, Thomas Gamlyn. Walter Gamlyn was probably a relative of the latter.

1. Plymouth wheare Mr. Smith is Pastur ; no techer.
2. Bostone ; Mr. Willson, Pastur ; Mr. Cotton, teacher.
3. Dorchester ; Mr. Wareham, P. ; Mr. Mavoricke, T.
4. At Yorke Bury ; Mr. Weelds, P. ; Mr. Elyot, T.
5. At Charlestowne ; Mr. Jeames, P. ; and Mr. Cosson
sines he is now gone thether too bee there teacher.
6. At Newtowne ; Mr. Hoocker, P. ; Mr. Stowe, teacher.
7. At Waltertowne ; Mr. Phillips, P.
8. At Salem ; there pastor, old Mr. Skelton : there is
Mr. Williams who does exorsies his giftes but is in
no office.

So at Ipsidge a plantation made up this yeare, Mr.
Ward, P. ; Mr. Parker, T."

Against the above list (into which, as into a few other parts of the letter, marks of punctuation have been intruded in this printing, for the clearer signification of the purport to the reader) the Government official, who has underscored elsewhere, has placed a bracket, and has appended the comment : "Greate Newes out of New England touching the presbyteriall government as it seems established there."

J. C. WHITEBROOK.

[*To be continued*]

The Oldest English Missionary Society

(Communicated, in substance, by Dr. J. Massie, J.P.)

THIS honourable designation is justly due to the little known "Corporation for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England," commonly called "The New England Company." From a History of the Company, privately printed for circulation among the members in 1871, the following brief narrative is condensed.

The Commons of England in Parliament assembled, having "received certain intelligence that divers the heathen natives of New England had, through the blessing of God upon the pious care and pains of some godly English, who preached the gospel to them in their own language, not only of barbarous become civil, but many of them forsaking their accustomed charms and sorceries and other satanical delusions, did then call upon the name of the Lord"; an Ordinance was passed on 27th July, 1649, constituting a Corporation for the purpose aforesaid. It was to be called "The President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England." It was to consist of a president, treasurer, and fourteen assistants, as named in the Ordinance. It was to have power to purchase or acquire land not exceeding the yearly value of £2,000, and any goods or sums of money whatever. A general collection was to be made through all counties, cities, towns, and parishes in England and Wales, for the purposes of the Cor-

poration. (See Scobell's *Acts and Ordinances*, 2nd pt., pp. 66 flg.) The collection amounted to £11,430.

William Littleton, Esq., by his will dated 28th July, 1653, gave to the Corporation a rent charge of £20 per annum on certain lands at Aston, Herefordshire.

On 16th August, 1653, Thomas Bedingfield sold to three members of the Corporation, Richard Hutchinson, W. Mullins, and Ed. Winslow,* lands in Suffolk for the use of the Corporation.

The property consisted of the manors of Eriswell and Chamberlain's in Eriswell, with two manor houses and a water-mill; the demesne lands of the manors, *viz.*, 2,460 acres of arable, 152 acres of meadow and pasture, and 17 acres of carr ground; two free warrens estimated at 2,000 acres, with the game and stock of conies; and four fold-courses, with liberty of folding for 2,240 sheep. The purchase price, £7,000, was paid by Bedingfield's appointment to Robert Lowther on 23rd November, 1653.

The Corporation also bought, before 1657, three houses in Bucklersbury (London), one in Knight Rider Street (London), and a house called Suffolk Place, with 120 acres of land, at Plumstead, Kent; the aggregate price being £4,430.

After the Restoration it was assumed that all the legislation of "the late times"—since the outbreak of the Civil War—was null and void. On 7th February, 1661/2, therefore a *new* "Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America" was incorporated by royal charter. The persons named in the

* Winslow was one of the original *Mayflower* pilgrims, and several times held office as Governor of Plymouth Colony; Mullins is mentioned as one of the first born in the colony, to whom grants of land were made in 1640; Hutchinson is less easily identified, he *may* be the R.H. who figures among 38 colonists disarmed in 1638 through fear of disturbances on the banishment of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson.

charter as constituting the Company were 45 in number; eight lords, including Clarendon and Monk, four doctors of physic, ten aldermen of London, and twenty-three citizens of London. Among the latter is Richard Hutchinson, whose is the only name that appears in *both* the charters, 1649 and 1661/2. Still, it is clear that the new Company was intended to be a legalized continuation of the old one; for at the very first meeting of the court it was ordered that "the Seal of the late reputed Corporation . . . be altered as soon as conveniently it may, and as much of the Title of the New Charter put into the Inscription as it will admit of."

From the payment of the purchase money in 1653 to the Restoration, the New England Company received the rents and profits of the Eriswell estate. But soon afterwards Bedingfield repudiated the Contract, and pretended to grant leases, etc., of parts of the property; shamelessly boasting that he had all along expected a Restoration, and hoped that thereupon the Corporation would be adjudged void, and he should have his land again!

In Michaelmas term, 1662, Winslow being lately dead, Mullins and Hutchinson brought an action against Bedingfield to recover possession of the estate. Bedingfield alleged that the property was of much greater value than the amount paid; whereupon the plaintiffs offered, if he could sell it to better advantage, to accept in settlement the £7,000 with interest, and to account for all rents and profits by them received. This offer being rejected, judgement was given for the plaintiffs; in pursuance of which the estate was, in 1664, legally conveyed to Hutchinson and Mullins, and by them to the Company.

The London and Plumstead properties were

conveyed to the Company by the original vendors or their representatives in 1662, 1664, and 1665 respectively. The Littleton rent charge was the subject of considerable litigation; but was at length recovered by the Company, and afterwards (in 1688) sold to a member of the Littleton family.

In 1670 the Company received, under the will of William Penoyer, an annuity of £10 out of the rents of certain property called "Vance's," in Norfolk. And in 1695 it acquired by the will of the Honourable Robert Boyle (who was the first governor under the new incorporation) a rent charge of £90 per annum on the manor of Brafferton, Yorks, and certain lands thereabout; in trust to employ £45 per annum toward the salaries of two ministers to teach the natives in New England; and to pay the other £45 per annum to the President and Fellows of Harvard College in New England, for the like purpose.

The Rev. Daniel Williams, D.D. (the well known Presbyterian minister), who died in 1716, by his will dated 26th June, 1711, gave to the Company the reversion of an estate in Essex; on condition that £60 per annum should be divided between two well qualified and pious persons, to be nominated from time to time by his trustees, to preach as itinerants to the blacks and pagans in the West Indies; and the residue to be paid to Harvard College to promote the evangelization of the Indians. The reversion fell in on 24th September, 1745, and the Company entered on possession of the estate.

Other properties were acquired at various dates before 1775, including an estate at Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts; likewise Exchequer annuities, South Sea stock, etc. The Massachusetts estate appears to have been lost during the War of

Independence; however, it had ceased to belong to the Company by 1787.

As to the work done by the Company: In the original (1649) charter "The Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England for the time being, by themselves or such as they should appoint," were authorized to receive money, etc., acquired by the Corporation, and dispose thereof "in such manner as shall best and principally conduce to the preaching and propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ among the Natives, and also for maintaining of Schools and Nurseries of learning for the better education of the children of the Natives." By the new charter (1662) the Company were empowered to nominate "such and so many fit and meet persons, residing in or near any of the colonies or plantations in New England to be Commissioners on behalf of the Company," and to make such arrangements as they might deem best with ministers, schoolmasters, and others. The Company was required to present an annual statement of their accounts to certain officers of State, if demanded.

At the second meeting of the reconstituted Company of which we have any account, in 3rd April, 1662, £800 was voted "for carrying on the printing of the Bible in the Indian language* in New England, and other business there in order to the propagating of the gospel among the heathen natives." A week later it was reported that £500 of the money was already paid. The Commissioners were to call to their assistance all such persons, whether ministers or others, that may be useful to them in their meetings. They were to send an estimate "how much the remainder of the Bible that is yet to print would cost"; but were

* This was John Elliot's translation. The language is now quite extinct.

to practise strict economy, because "the greatest part of their revenue is unrighteously withheld from the Company": no doubt by Bedingfield. Robert Boyle was desired to use his best endeavour with the the Lord Chancellor for a general contribution.

The printed extracts from early minutes are largely taken up with matters relating to property. Only here and there we find particulars of actual work. An important minute occurs on 17th February, 1698; on which day a letter was read from William Stoughton and Increase Mather, reporting the death and disability of several of the Commissioners in New England. Thereupon six new Commissioners were appointed, *viz.*, Cotton Mather, Nehemiah Walter, Samuel Sewell, Peter Serjeant, John Foster, and Thomas Banister. The important point is that both the Mathers and Walter were *Congregationalists*. At the same meeting a letter was read from Lord Bellemont, proposing to provide "five itinerant ministers to preach the Gospel to the Five Nations of the Indians." Mons. Boudet, recommended by Mr. John Quick, was to be one of the five; the other four were to be sent from Harvard College, to be chosen by the Commissioners there; £60 per annum was granted toward their salaries. There can be little doubt the "Mr. John Quick" was the *Presbyterian* minister who in 1662 was ejected from Brixton in Devon, and who was greatly interested in the French Protestant ministers.

Two years later, 11th June, 1700, it was arranged that Lord Bellemont should choose such itinerant ministers as were needed; the grant was to be £80 per annum for the next three years.

On 22nd February, 1720, the Commissioners were urged to use their utmost interest with the Governor and Council of New England to remove

obstacles that had hindered their work ; especially that encroachments on the bounds of the Indians' lands may be prevented. If the Commissioners should think proper to ask the Home Government for orders to that effect, the Company would heartily support them.

The payments for itinerant preachers seem to have been somewhat intermittent, and their success not great.

Difficulties were inevitable on the outbreak of the War of Independence ; and on 19th May, 1779, the Company resolved "that the court did not think themselves warranted by the Charter in remitting money to New England, so long as that country is in arms against His Majesty and their fellow subjects." They did, however, continue the Boyle annuity to Harvard College down to 1782.

After the recognition of American Independence, the Company, having taken counsels' opinions, resolved that they could not safely execute the trusts of their charter in any part of America out of the king's dominions. Considering that the province of New Brunswick had formerly been accounted a part of New England, they transferred their operations thither. But at various times they paid several sums to their late agents in the American States "by way of bounty and compassion."

Payments were made to Harvard College on account of Dr. Williams's Trust down to 1785. After that time the income was allowed to accumulate till 1808 ; in which year a Chancery scheme was confirmed applying the Williams Trust Estate "towards the advancement of the Christian religion amongst Indians, Blacks, and Pagans in some or one of His Majesty's plantations and colonies." In like manner the Boyle annuity was, by legal process in 1792 and 1794, diverted to a "Society

for the Conversion and Religious Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands.”

The records of the Company during many years are largely taken up with litigation and the varying of investments. In July 1815 the Lords of the Treasury called on the Company for a statement of accounts, and a further statement was demanded in 1823. The Charity Commissioners also instituted inquiries in 1820. Meanwhile the value of the Eriswell estate was greatly increased as a result of enclosures in 1811; and by 1842 the net income of the Company exceeded £2,100. Much of the record is not exhilarating; there is litigation about tithes, about game, about personal matters. An extraordinary claim was raised against the Company in 1838; Sir Henry Bedingfield, Bart., presented a petition to the House of Commons, alleging that certain estates in Suffolk belonging to his ancestors had been confiscated, and the proceeds vested in trustees for promoting the spread of the Gospel in New England; that the object in view no longer existed, the rental was not applied to the purpose; and he “prayed the House to take the matter into its consideration.” The member who presented the petition moved for a return of the property and accounts of the Company; but the motion was very decisively rejected.

In 1869 the Eriswell estate was sold for £120,000, which was invested in consols and other Government stock: and the income of the Company from its various investments in the following year was about £5,000.

The New Brunswick enterprise was, on the whole, unsatisfactory; and in 1870 the principal work of the Company was carried on in Canada;

small grants being made for educational purposes in Jamaica and South Africa.

There are several indications that the work of the Company, during the greater part of its existence, has been in principle unsectarian. The original members of the 1649 Corporation were undoubtedly Puritan or Independent: Winslow was certainly an Independent. The two Mathers and Walters were also Independents. Daniel Williams was a Presbyterian; and Harvard College was a Puritan foundation. For many years the Episcopal Church has been predominant in the management and work of the Company, though the local reports for 1869-70 furnish several pleasing instances of friendly co-operation with Methodists, Baptists, and Moravians.

The subsequent course of events is thus briefly summed in the *Christian World* of 17th July, 1913:

A few years ago there was some uneasiness due to representations from "a high authoritative source" that it would be well to make the monopoly less marked by admitting a Nonconformist or two to the governing body. The Dissenting Deputies were invited to make a nomination, and they named Mr. Evan Spicer. He found himself unable to serve, and then Mr. Massie was nominated. To him exception was taken because of his identification with the Liberation Society. The Deputies resented the objection, but nominated instead Mr. G. A. Hardy. He also was rejected as not *persona grata*, and the Deputies then laid the case before the Charity Commissioners. These have decided that the charter of Charles II virtually constituted a trust in favour of the Church of England. So the "Church of England," which regards disendowment as "robbery," scooped up this revenue contributed by Puritans of the Commonwealth period for work to be done by New England Puritans!

"Convey, the wise it call."

Works by the three Nottingham Worthies :
John Barret, John Whitlock, and William Reynolds.

(Contributed by Mr. S. Jones, Williams's Library.)

Some account of these ministers, ejected from Nottingham churches in 1662, may be found in *Trans.* v, 227 flg.

[*B.M.*—British Museum. *C.L.*—Congregational Library. *D.W.L.*—Dr. Williams's Library. *Carpenter*—Carpenter, B., *Early Presbyterianism in Nottingham* [1862]. *Creswell*—Creswell, S.F., *Collects. towards the hist. of printing in Notts*, 1863. *Term Cat.*—Term Catalogues, 1668-1709, ed. Edw. Arber, 3 vols., 1903-1906.]

- 1658 *The Vanitye and Excellency of Man* : in two { Reynolds
(1) Sermons preached at the Funerals of the { Whitlock
Honourable Francis Pierepont, *etc.*, 4to. pp
[10], 24, 44, [20], London : for J. Rothwell,
1658.
[Each sermon has also a separate title-
page as follows :—]
(1) *The Vanitie of Man, in his best Estate.*
By William Reynolds.
(2) *The Upright Man and his Happy End.*
By John Whitlock.
[*D.W.L.*, *B.M.* (N.B. The Brit. Mus. has only
separate copies of the two sermons, without
the general titlepage.) *C.L.*]
- 1661 *The Benefit of Afflictions to the People of God.* Whitlock
(2) Opened and applyed in a Sermon preached
.... at the Funerall of Mrs. Winnifrid
Pierrepont. By John Whitlock. 4to. pp.
[12], 38, [7], London : M. Simmons, 1661.
[*D.W.L.*]
- 1663 *England's Remembrancer* : being a Collection { Whitlock
(3) of Farewel-Sermons, preached by divers { Barret
Non-Conformists in the Country. 8vo. pp.

[8], 510, 78, London, Printed in the Year, 1663.

[Sermons I and II on Rev. 3, iii are by Whitlock. Sermon III on Phil. 2, xii and Sermon IV on I Kings 18, xxi are by Barret. (vide Calamy.)] C.L.

- 1674 (4) *Good Will towards Men, or a Treatise of the Covenants.* By a Lover of Truth and Peace. [Preface signed 'J.B.'] 8vo. pp. [8], 494, [9], London: for Samuel Richards in Nottingham, 1675. Barret
[C.L., D.W.L.]
(Term Cat. Michaelmas 1674.)
See also below: 1678. *God's Love to Man.*
- 1675 (5) *Fifty Queries, seriously propounded to those that question, or deny Infants Right to Baptism.* By J. B., sm. 8vo. pp. [6], 26, London, for Nevil Symonds and Jonathan Robinson, 1675. Barret
[D.W.L.]
(Term Cat. Michaelmas, 1675.)
[See Baxter's *Reliquiae* III, 187; Barret's *Christian Temper* p. xv.]
- 1678 (6) *The Christian Temper.* By John Barret. 8vo. pp. [16], 423 (misprinted 223), London: for J. Robinson and S. Richards in Nottingham, 1678. Barret
[C.L., D.W.L.]
(Term Cat. Easter 1678.)
- (7) *God's Love to Man, and Man's Duty towards God: manifested in several Discourses on the Covenants.* By John Barret. 8vo. pp. [8], 494, [9], London: for S.R. [*i.e.* Sam. Richards] and are to be sold by Jonathan Robinson, 1678. Barret
[C.L., D.W.L.]
(Term Cat. Trinity, 1678.)
[This is another issue with a fresh title-page of the unsold sheets of *Good Will towards Men* 1675; even the Addenda and Corrigenda are left uncorrected.]
- (8) *Much in a Little: or, an Abstract of Mr. Baxter's plain Scripture-Proof.* With a few Notes upon the Antiqueries of T.G. By the same Barret

hand that wrote the Fifty Queries. sm. 8vo. pp. [4], 70, [6], London: for Tho. Parkhurst, 1678.

[D.W.L., B.M.]

(Term Cat. Trinity, 1678.)

1680 *The Rector of Sulton committed with the Dean* Barret

(9) *of St. Paul's, or, a Defence of Dr. Stillingfleet's Irenicum, &c., against . . . the Mischief of Separation.* By the Author of the *Christian Temper.* 4to. pp. [4], 80, London: J.D. for Richard Janeway, 1680.

[D.W.L., B.M., C.L.]

(Term Cat. Michaelmas, 1680.)

1681 *A Reply to the Reverend Dean of St. Paul's*

(10) *Reflections on The Rector of Sulton, &c.* By the same Hand. To which is added, *St. Paul's Work Promoted.* [The 'Reply' proper, which ends on p. 96, is signed 'John Barrett']. 4to. pp. [4], 127, London: J.D. for Richard Janeway, 1681.

[D.W.L. (2 copies.)]

(Term Cat. Trinity, 1681.)

[Sig. O1 (pp. 97-98), probably blank, has been removed from both D.W.L. copies.]

1698 *That Great Duty, and Comfortable Evidence* Whitlock

(11) [*Keeping ourselves from our iniquity.*] Opened and applied in some Sermons upon Psal. 18, 23. By John Whitlock. sm. 8vo. pp. [4], 116, [8], London: for Tho. Parkhurst, and John Richards at Nottingham, 1698.

[C.L., D.W.L.]

(Term Cat. Trinity 1698.)

(12) *A Short Account of the Life of the Reverend Mr.* { Barret

William Reynolds. Drawn up by . . . John Whitlock . . . Together with the Sermon { Reynolds

preached at his Funeral . . . By John Barret. sm. 8vo. pp. [2], 117, [1] ('Errata' pasted on reverse of title) London: for Thomas Parkhurst, 1698. [The Sermon has a separate title-page. Pagination is continuous.] { Whitlock

[C.L., D.W.L., B.M.]

(Term Cat. Easter, 1699, with other works of various dates.)

- 1699 (13) *A Sermon preached to the Society for Reformation of Manners, at Nottingham.* On the 25th of August, 1698. By John Whitlock. sm. 8vo. pp. [8], 48, London: for John Richards in Nottingham, 1699. Whitlock
[D.W.L.]
(Term Cat. Easter, 1699.)
- (14) *A Sermon preach'd to the Society for Reformation of Manners in Nottingham.* Novemb. 24th, 1698. By John Barret. sm. 8vo. pp. 59, [3], London: Tho. Snowden for John Richards in Nottingham, 1699. Barret
[C.L., D.W.L.]
(Term Cat. Easter, 1699.)
- (15) *A Funeral Sermon upon the death of Mr. Joseph Barrett, Son of the Reverend Mr. John Barret.* Preached Aug. 30th. By J. W. Junior [*i.e.* John Whitlock, Jnr.] . . . To which is added, *An Account of his Holy Life* . . . Being part of an exact Diary written by his own Hand. (Preface signed 'J. W. Junior, Apr. 11, 1699': 'Address to the Reader' signed 'Jo. Whitlock, Senior': Chap. VIII consists of 'A brief Character of him, written by his Father John Barret.') 8vo. pp. [16], 293, [3], London: for Tho. Parkhurst, 1699. { Barret
Whitlock
[B.M., C.L.]
(Term Cat. Trinity 1699; Re-issued with the 'Second Part,' Michaelmas 1699.)
- (16) *The Remains of Mr. Joseph Barrett* . . . Being the Second Part taken out of an Exact Diary &c. ('To the Reader' signed 'John Whitlock, Jo. Whitlock Junior, August 22, 1699.') 8vo. pp. [8], 216, London: for Tho. Parkhurst, and John Richards at Nottingham, 1700. { Barret (Jos.)
Whitlock
[B.M., D.W.L.]
(Term Cat., with reissue of Part I, Michaelmas 1699.)
The above was apparently sold either separately, or bound up with Part I.
- 1703 (17) *Analecta: or Fragments offered (upon Occasion) as a Supplement to a Discourse of the Covenants,* (Printed with this Title *Good Will towards* Barret

Men An. 1675.) Also Sixty Queries proposed to such as deny the Evangelical Law, &c. By John Barret. 4to. pp. 84, London: Printed in the Year, 170³.

[D.W.L.]

- 1704 (18) *A Discourse concerning Pardon of Sin, and the Blessedness of a Pardon'd State.* By John Barret. 12mo. pp. [8], 184, London: for J. Robinson and Hannah Richards in Nottingham, 1703. Barret
- [Creswell, p. 7.]
(Term Cat. Hilary 170⁴.)
I have not seen a copy of this issue. Besides the date, there are certain small differences in the use of capitals and italics between Creswell's title page and that of the 1704 issue. Probably the latter is either a page for page reprint, or a reissue, possibly with the errata added. (p. 184 may have been originally blank.)
- (19) *Ditto*, [another edition or issue] 12mo. pp. [8], 183, [1] (Errata), London: for J. Robinson and Hannah Richards in Nottingham, 1704.
- [C.L., D.W.L.]
(Term Cat. Trinity, 1704.)
- 1709 (20) *A Funeral-Sermon, preached at Nottingham, occasioned by the Death of . . . Mr. John Whitlock, Sen., December 8th, 1708.* With another Discourse, partly upon the same Occasion . . . By John Barret. 8vo. pp. 40, London: by T.W. for Nath. Cliffe, 1709. {Barret
{Whitlock
- [B.M., D.W.L. (2 copies)]
(Term Cat. Easter and Trinity, 1709.)
- (21) *A practical Discourse of Secret Prayer, on Matth. vi, 6 . . .* By John Barret. 12mo. pp. 115, [1], London: for Nath. Cliffe and William Ward in Nottingham, 1709. Barret
- [D.W.L.]
- 1711 (22) *The Evil and Remedy of Scandal.* A Practical Discourse on Psalm cxix, clxv. By John Barret

Barret. 8vo. pp. [4], 28, London: for Nath. Cliff and Daniel Jackson, 1711.
[B.M., D.W.L.]

1713 (23) *Away with the Fashion of this World. Come, Lord Jesus.* Being a Small Legacy of a Dying Minister, to a Beloved People. By the late Reverend Mr. J. Barret. 16mo. pp. 77, [1], Nottingham: J. Collyer, and sold by R. Robinson, N. Cliff and D. Jackson, 1713.
[D.W.L.]

1714 (24) *A short Attempt for preserving the Memory, and improving the Death of Three Eminent, Aged, Ministers of Christ, late of Nottingham, viz. Mr. William Reynolds... Mr. John Whitlock... and Mr. John Barret.* In two Sermons... By John Whitlock [Jnr.]. 8vo. pp. 65, [1]. Nottingham: J. Collyer, and Sold by R. Robinson, N. Cliff and D. Jackson, 1714.
[C.L., D.W.L.]

{ Reynolds
Whitlock
Barret

(25) *Reliquiae Barretteanae, or, Select Sermons on sundry Pratical Subjects.* By the late Reverend Mr. John Barret. 8vo. pp. [4], 212, Nottingham: J. Collyer, and sold by R. Robinson, N. Cliff and D. Jackson, 1714.
[C.L., D.W.L., B.M.]
Announced in 'Short Attempt' as 'In the Press and almost finish'd.'

Barret

In addition to the above, Carpenter ascribes the following to Barret (probably on the authority of Wood's *Athenae*, ed. Bliss iv, 373, note):—

'The Nonconformists vindicated from the Abuses put upon them by Mr. Durel and Mr. Scrivener. By a Country Scholar. 8vo. London: for Thomas Parkhurst, 1679.

This is an expanded edition of '*Bonus Vapulans*' 1672, and consists of two letters signed 'W.B.' These have been taken to stand for a certain 'William Barret,' but there seems little doubt that the two books are really by Henry Hickman, to whom they are now usually ascribed.

SUMMARY

1.	D.W.L.	B.M.	C.L.	14.	D.W.L.		C.L.
2.	D.W.L.			15.	"	B.M.	C.L.
3.	D.W.L.	B.M.	C.L.	16.	D.W.L.	B.M.	
4.	D.W.L.		C.L.	17.	D.W.L.		
5.	D.W.L.			18.			
6.	D.W.L.		C.L.	19.	D.W.L.		C.L.
7.	D.W.L.		C.L.	20.	D.W.L.	B.M.	C.L.
8.	D.W.L.	B.M.		21.	D.W.L.		
9.	D.W.L.	B.M.	C.L.	22.	D.W.L.	B.M.	
10.	D.W.L.			23.	D.W.L.		
11.	D.W.L.		C.L.	24.	D.W.L.		C.L.
12.	D.W.L.	B.M.	C.L.	25.	D.W.L.	B.M.	C.L.
13.	D.W.L.		C.L.	25	23	10	15

Shrewsbury Resolutions on the Corporation and Test Acts

THE following document, found among the papers of the late Rev. W. H. Cole of Ashurst Wood, formerly of Bury St. Edmunds, appears to be of some historical interest:

"Shrewsbury, 18th Jany., 1790.

Sir, I take the Liberty of transmitting to you as Chairman of the Associated Body of Protestant Dissenters in my native County, a Copy of our Resolutions here, on the Subject of the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts.

Mrs. Lucas joins in respectful Compliments to yourself and your Bro^r with
dear Sir, Yo^r humble Serv^t,
 Saml. Lucas.

(Address) John Cumberland Esq^r, Bury, Suffolk.

At a Congregational Meeting of Protestant Dissenters in Shrewsbury held at their Vestry on Swan Hill upon Wednesday the thirteenth Day of January, 1790

Resolved unanimously

- i. That as long as the Corporation and Test Acts remain in Force, the Protestant Dissenters consider themselves unjustly deprived of those Rights to which they have a natural Claim with their fellow Citizens.
- ii. That they consider these Acts as reflecting a Dishonour upon them, notwithstanding they are as firmly attached to his Majesty's Person and Family—as cordially affected to the Civil Government of their Country—as sincere and hearty Friends to the publick Tranquillity, and as Zealous for the Protestant Religion, as any of their fellow Subjects.
- iii. That they particularly consider an Obligation to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as a Qualification for Civil Offices, to be nothing less than a Profanation of a Christian Institute, appointed by its Great Author only for Religious Purposes.

iv. That for these Reasons we heartily concur with our Brethren in their intended Petition to the Legislature for the Repeal of the said Acts.

v. That we disapprove of all undue Influence, either on this or any other Occasion, with Respect to the Choice of Representatives to serve in Parliament ; and unite with our Brethren in their Attempt to obtain their Object, only as it is pursued on the Principles of Prudence, Temperance, and Moderation.

vi. That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to the Committee in London, for their former and present Exertions to procure the Repeal of the Acts in question ; and that a Copy of these Resolutions be sent to their Chairman, requesting him to assure them of our Approbation of every Constitutional and prudent Measure to obtain the Repeal of the said Acts, and of all penal Statutes in Matters of Religion.

vii. That a Copy of these Resolutions be likewise sent to Wm. Russell, Esq., the Chairman of the Birmingham Committee, and that he be hereby informed, that every well-concerted Plan for promoting Union among Protestant Dissenters of every Denomination throughout the Kingdom, which "has in View no other than the Religious Interests of the Body," has the entire Approval of this Meeting.

viii. That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to the Chairman for his proper Conduct on this Occasion.

Signed (by Order of the Meeting)

Samuel Lucas, Chairman.

Rev. Samuel Lucas, previously of Walsall, was pastor of Swan Hill church, Shrewsbury, from 1779 to 1797. He was one of the founders of the Salop Congregational Association. He retired from the active ministry, owing to infirmity, in 1797 ; and died on 29th January, 1799.

London Nonconformity in 1810

AMONG the pamphlets in the Congregational Library is *The Protestant Dissenters' Almanack and Annual Register for the Year of our Lord 1811*. It is described as "The Second Year's Impression," and there is a promise that it is "to be continued annually." But as no file of the Almanack is to be found either at Williams's Library or at the British Museum, it seems likely that a promising enterprise was cut short by the monstrous "Almanack Tax" of a shilling for every copy, which was then exacted.

The issue for 1811 contains much interesting information; especially "A Complete List of all the Chapels, etc., in and near London, the Times of Services, Names of the Ministers, and their respective Denominations." The total number is 240; arranged in one continuous alphabet, the denominations being indicated by abbreviated titles at the end of each line. In reproducing the list it seems more convenient to group each denomination separately. It must be observed, however, that the group "Calvinist" includes at least two classes of congregations: Independent, with a strong inclination to hypercalvinism; and proprietary chapels where the Book of Common Prayer was used more or less completely, which at that time were commonly called "Calvinistic Methodists."

INDEPENDENT

Barbican Meeting	m. a. e. Tu.	Mr. Gore
Buckingham Chapel, Pimlico	m. a.	Mr. Dunn, e. various
Bury Street, St. Mary Axe	m. a.	Mr. Beck, e. "
Bethnal Green Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Kelloe
†Camberwell Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Berry
Camomile Street	m. a.	J. Clayton junr.
Carey Street	m. a. Tu.	Dr. Winter
Charlotte Street, Pell St., Wapping	m. a. e.	Mr. Stodhert
†Clapham Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Phillips
Colliers Rents, Borough	m. a. Fr.	Mr. Knight
†Deptford Meeting	m. a. Wed.	Mr. Barker
†Edmonton Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Williams
Fetter Lane	m. a.	Mr. Burder, Th. var.
Founders' Hall, Lothbury	m. a.	Unsettled
†Hackney Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Palmer
†Hackney, Well Street	e.	Mr. Collison
†Highgate	m. a. e.	Mr. Porter
†Hammersmith	m. a. e.	Mr. Raffles
Hare Court, Aldersgate	m. a. e.	Mr. Webb
Hoxton Academy Chapel	m. a. e. Th.	Various
†Homerton Meeting	m. a. e. Th.	Dr. Smith
Islington Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Jennings
Jewry Street	m. e. Tu.	Mr. Ball
Jewin Street	m. a. M. Fr.	Mr. Priestley, e. var.
Jamaica Row, Bermondsey	m. a. e. Wed.	J. Townsend
Kensington Meeting	m. e.	Mr. Leifchild
Locke Fields	m. a.	Mr. Clayton
London Road	m. a. e.	Mr. Harper
Mitchell Street, Old Street	m. a.	Mr. Powell
New Broad Street	m. a.	Mr. Gaffee, e, various
†Newington, Stoke	m. a.	Mr. Hodgkins
Pavement, Moorfields	m. a.	Mr. Wall
†Peckham	m. a.	Dr. Collyer
Princes Street	m. a. e.	Mr. C. Buck
Pell Street Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Cloutt
Stepney Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Ford
†Stratford Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Emblin
Staining Lane	m. a.	Mr. Brooksbank

Union Street, Southwark	m. a. e.	Mr. Humphries
Weigh-house, Eastcheap	m. a.	Mr. Clayton, senr.
Wilson Street Meeting	m. a. e.	Mr. Buck
White Row, Bishopsgate	m. a.	Mr. Goode

CALVINIST

Adelphi Chapel, Strand	m. a. e. Fri.	Various
Aldersgate Street	m. e.	Mr. Madden
Aliffe Street Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Shenstone, e. Mr. Oates
Aldermanbury Postern	m. e.	
Artillery Street, Bishopsgate	m. a.	Mr. Hawkesley, e. var.
Baker's Court, Old Gravel Lane	m. a.	Mr. Rutledge
Baker's Court, Holborn	m. a. e.	Mr. Lane
†Barking	a. e.	Various
Bartholomew Close	m. e. Th.	Mr. Latchford
Battle Bridge	e.	Mr. Sowerby
†Camden Chapel	m. a. e. Wed.	Dr. Draper
Church Street, Mile End	m. a. e. Th.	Mr. Evans
Crispin Street Meeting	m. a. e. Tu.	Various
†Crouch End	m. a.	Various
Cumberland St., Shoreditch	m. a. e. Tu., Fr.	Mr. J. Brown
Eagle and Child Alley, Shoe Lane	m. a.	Mr. Pierce
Ebenezer Chapel, Ratcliff Highway	m. a. e. Th.	Mr. C. Hyatt
[Place not specified]	m. a. e.	Mr. Fryer
Gate Street, Lincoln's Inn	m. a. e. M. W.	Mr. G. Williams
Gee Street, Goswell St.	m. a.	Mr. Holland
Grub Street Meeting	Tu.	Mr. Huntington
†Greenwich Tabernacle	m. e. Tu.	Mr. Chapman
†Hampstead Meeting	m. a. e.	Mr. Wraith
Hatton Chapel	m. e. W.	Mr. Smith
Horsley Down	m. a.	Mr. J. Hunt, e. var.
Hope Street, Spitalfields	m. e. Th.	Various
†Homerton Chapel	m. e.	Mr. W. B. Williams
Holywell Mount Chapel	m. e.	Mr. Platt, a. various
Jews' Chapel, Spitalfields	m. a.	Various: e. Mr. Frey
Islington Chapel	m. e. Tu. F.	Mr. E. J. Jones
Islington Union Chapel	e.	Mr. Lewis
Kennington Chapel	m. a.	

Kingsland Road	m. a. e. Wed.	Mr. Campbell
Long Acre Chapel	m. e. Wed.	Mr. King
Mill Yard	m. a.	Mr. Thomas
†Mussel-hill	m. a. e.	Various
New Road, St. Georges	m. a.	Mr. Lyndall, e. var.
Orange St., Leicester Square	m. e. Th.	Various
Old Gravel Lane, Wapping	m. a.	Mr. Hooper
Paradise Row	m. a. e.	Mr. Bennett
†Paragon, Bermondsey	m. a. e. W. S.	Mr. Helmsworth
Paradise Chapel, Chelsea	m. a.	Mr. Pickett
	e.	{ Dr. Duncan Mr. Buckland
Peter Street Meeting	m. a.	Dr. Duncan, e. var.
Pell Street Chapel	m. e.	Mr. Stodhart
Providence Ch., Little Titchfield St.	m. e. M. W.	Mr. Huntington
Queen Street, Cheapside	m. e. Th.	Mr. Davies
Red Lion Court, Spitalfields	m. a. e.	Mr. Yeerd
Rose Lane, Ratcliff	m. e.	Mr. I. Williams
Salem Chapel, Shadwell Mar.	m. a. e. Tu.	Mr. Vautin
Shakespeare's Walk		Dr. Rutledge
Surrey Chapel	m. e. Tu. F	m. Mr. Rowl. Hill
Silver Street	m. e. Th.	Mr. E. J. Jones
St. Julius, West Lane	m.	Mr. Fowler
Savoy, Strand	m. a.	Mr. Steinkoff
Swan Yard, Lambeth	m. a.	Mr. Francis
†Sydenham Meeting	m. e.	Various
Tabernacle, Moorfields	m. e. M. W. S.	} Mr. Wilks and Mr. Hyatt alternately
Tottenham Court Chapel	m. e. Tu. Th.	
†Tottenham and Edmonton Meeting	m. e.	Mr. Fowler
†Wandsworth	m. e. Tu.	Various
†Walthamstow Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Collison
Welsh Chapel, Wilderness Row	m. a. e.	Various
West Lane, Walworth	m. a. e. Th.	Various
†Woolwich	m. e.	Mr. Piercy

COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON'S CHAPELS.

Spa Fields	m. a. e. Tu. Fr.	Various
Sion Chapel, Whitechapel	m. a. e. Th.	Various

PRESBYTERIAN—ENGLISH.

† Brentford	m. a.	Mr. Heinekin
Carter Lane, Doctors Commons	m.	Mr. Tayler
† Hampstead Chapel	m.	Mr. Methuen
Hanover Street, Long Acre	m. a.	Mr. Lane
Leather Lane, Holborn	m.	Mr. Barrett, a. Mr. Evans
Monkwell Street	m.	Dr. Lindsay
Old Jewry Chapel, Jewin Street	m. a.	Dr. Rees
Salters' Hall	m. unsettled :	A. Mr. Worthington, E. various

PRESBYTERIAN—CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

Bow Lane	m. a. e.	Mr. Jerment
Crown Court, Bow Street	m. a.	Mr. Grieg, e. Tu. var.
London Wall	m. a.	Dr. Young
Swallow Street	m. a.	Mr. Nichol, e. various

PRESBYTERIAN—SCOTTISH SECEDERS.

Miles Lane	m. a. e.	
Oxenden Meeting	m. a.	Mr. Jerment
Wells Street, Oxford Street	m. a. e.	Mr. Waugh

BAPTIST—PARTICULAR.

Blandford Street	m. e.	Mr. Keeble
† Bow	m. a. e.	Mr. Newman
† Battersea	m. e. W.	Mr. Hughes
† Camberwell	m.	Mr. Carr
Carter Lane, Tooley Street	m. a. Tu.	Dr. Rippon
City Chapel, Grub Street	m. e. Th.	Mr. Feast
† Clapham	m. a. e.	Mr. Ovington
Dean Street, Tooley Street	m. a.	Mr. Button
Devonshire Square	m. a.	Mr. Thomas : e. var.
Eagle Street	m. a. e. Wed.	Mr. Ivimey
East Lane, Walworth	m. a. e.	Dr. Jenkin

Elim Chapel, Fetter Lane	m. a. e. Th.	Mr. Austin
Edward Street, Soho	m.	Mr. Symonds
Ewer Street	m. a.	Mr. Crawford
Great Alyffe Street	m. a. e.	Mr. Bayley
Grafton Street	m. a. e.	Mr. Burnham
Green Walk, Blackfriars	m. a. e. Tu.	Mr. Upton
† Hackney, Shore Place	m. a. e.	Mr. Bradley
† Hammersmith	m. a. e. W.	Various
Jamaica Row, Rotherhithe	m. a.	Various
Keppel St., Bedford Square	m. a. Th.	Mr. Martin
Little Wild Street	m. a.	Mr. Waters
Maze Pond	m. a.	Mr. Dore
Obelisk, St. George's Fields	m. a. e.	Mr. Church
† Old Ford Meeting	m. a. e.	Mr. Newman
Prescot St., Goodmans Fields	m. a.	Mr. Stephens
Red Cross Street	m. a. e.	Mr. Wilson
" " " (Seventh Day)	Sat. m. a	Mr. Burnside
Red Cross Street (2)	m. a. e.	Mr. Franklin
Somers Town	m. a.	Mr. Jarman
Store Street. Bloomsbury	m. a. Tu.Th.	Mr. Martin
Trinity Chapel, Battlebridge	m. a. e. Th.	Mr. Sowerby
Unicorn Yard, Tooley Street	m. a.	Mr. Hutchins
{ Windmill Street	e.	Mr. Middleton
{ "Part. Bapt. of the Indwelling Denom."		

BAPTIST—GENERAL.

Church Lane, Whitechapel	m. a. Wed.	Mr. D. Taylor
Deptford, Church Street	m. a.	Mr. Moon
Mill Yard (Seventh Day)	Sat.	Mr. Slater
Worship Street	m.	Mr. Evans: a. un- settled

BAPTIST—SCOTCH.

Cateaton Street	m. e. Fri.	Mr. Ballantine
Meeting House Alley, Red Cross St.	m. a. e.	Messrs. Blake, Jones, and Ballantine

QUAKERS.

Devonshire House	m. e.	Various
Gracechurch Street	m. a.	"

Peel, St. John Street	m. a.	„
Ratcliff, School House Yard	m. a.	„
Southwark, Redcross Street	m. a.	„
Westminster, St. Martin's Lane	m. a.	„

METHODIST (WESLEYAN).

†Barnet	e.	Various
Battle Bridge	e.	„
†Bow	m. e.	„
†Brentford	m. e.	„
†Bromley	a.	„
†Chadwell	a. e.	„
Chandler Street	m. e.	„
Chelsea	m. e.	„
City Road Chapel	m. Tu.	„
†Clapham Common	e.	„
Clerkenwell	e.	„
†Dagenham	e.	„
†Dulwich	m. a. e. W.	„
Friar's Mount	e.	„
†Greenwich	e.	„
Gravel Lane, Wapping	m. e. M. W. F.	„
†Grays	e.	„
Hammersmith	m. a. e.	„
†Harrow	m. e.	„
Hinde Street	m. e.	„
Hoxton Chapel	m. a. e.	„
†Isleworth	a. e.	„
Kentish Town	e.	„
Lambeth Marsh	m. a. e.	„
†Leyton	a. e.	„
Lewisham	m. e.	„
Lombard Street, Temple Bar	e.	„
†Mitcham	m. e.	„
Nine Elms	a. e.	„
Poplar	m. e.	„
Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields	m. a. e. M. W.	„
Ratcliff Square	a.	„
†Richmond	a. e.	„
Rotherhithe	m. e.	„
Saffron Hill	e.	„
Seven Dials	e.	„

Southwark	m. e.	Various
Southwark, Snowsfields	m. e. W. F.	"
Spitalfields, Grey Eagle St.	m. a. e.	"
†Tottenham	m. e.	"
†Twickenham	m. e.	"
Westminster Meeting	e.	"
Wapping	m. e.	"
†Welling	a. e.	"
†Woolwich	m. a. e.	"

METHODIST NEW CONNEXION.

Gibraltar St., Bethnal Green	m. a. e.	Mr. Brown
------------------------------	----------	-----------

MORAVIAN.

Fetter Lane	m. e.	Mr. Church
-------------	-------	------------

SANDEMANIAN.

Paul's Alley	m. a.	
--------------	-------	--

SWEDENBORGIAN.

Chapel Court, St. Giles	m. a.	Dr. Hodson
Friars Street, Blackfriars	m. a.	Mr. Sibley
York Street	m. a.	Mr. Proud

UNIVERSALIST.

Parliament Court, Bishopsgate	m. e.	Mr. Vidler
Windmill Street	m.	

UNITARIAN.

Crispin Street	m. a. e.	Various
Essex Street, Strand	m. a.	Mr. Belsham
†Hackney, Paradise Field	m. a.	Mr. Aspland
Horsley Down	m. a. e.	Mr. Brown
†Newington Green	m. a.	Mr. Rees
Princes Street, Westminster	m. a.	Mr. Houghton
St. Thomas, Borough	m. a.	Mr. Coates
†Stratford, "Unitarian Fund"	a. Th.	Various
†Walthamstow	m. a.	Mr. Cogan

SOUTHCOTIAN.

Blackfriars Road	m. e.	Mr. Tozer
"House of God," Obelisk	m. e.	Mr. Carpenter

The denominations of the following are not specified:—

Chapel Street, Soho	m. a. e. Th.	Mr. Stollery
Lock Chapel	m. e.	Mr. T. Fry
Lombard St., Temple Bar	e.	Mr. Cuthbert
Princes Row, Spitalfields	e.	
†Stockwell	m. e.	Mr. Jackson
West Street, Seven Dials	e.	Mr. W. Gurney
†Woolwich	m. e.	Mr. Bitterdike

It should be observed that about 60 of the meetings enumerated above (those distinguished by a †) were, in 1810, rather *near* than *in* London; and, notwithstanding the enormous growth of the metropolis since that date, the same is still true of a few of them. The total is made up of 42 Independent, 64 "Calvinist," 15 Presbyterian, 40 Baptist, and 46 Methodist congregations, together with 26 of smaller denominations, and 7 unspecified. Of the "Calvinist" congregations, several are still flourishing as Independent churches, while some became proprietary chapels in connection with the Established Church. Of the English Presbyterian and General Baptist congregations, three or four might have been quite as correctly described as Unitarian.

Dissenting Chapels in and near Manchester, 1810

From the Protestant Dissenters' Almanack, 1811

INDEPENDENT.		
Moseley Street	Rev. S. Bradley	m. a. e.
Oldfield Lane	Rev. Jos. Smith	e.
"CALVINIST."		
Grosvenor Street	Rev. W. Roby	m. a. e.
Cannon Street	Rev. — Marsh	m. a. e.
New Windsor	Rev. — Phillips	m. a. e.
PRESBYTERIAN—ENGLISH.		
Cross Street	Rev. R. Harrison and J. Grundy	m. a.
Blakeley	Rev. R. Harrison	m. a.

PRESBYTERIAN—SCOTTISH SECESSION.

Lloyd Street Rev. R. Jack m. a.

BAPTIST—PARTICULAR.

St. George's Road W. Gadsby m. a. e.

York Street various m. a. e.

BAPTIST—SCOTTISH.

Cold House m. a. e.

METHODIST—WESLEYAN.

Oldham Street various m. e.

Bridgwater Street „ m. a. e.

Swan Street „ m. a. e.

Gravel Lane, Salford „ m. a. e.

Failsworth „ m. a. e.

METHODIST—NEW CONNEXION.

Oldham Street Rev. — Watson m. a. e.

Red Hall Meeting House various m. a. e.

Bethesda, Pendleton „ m. a. e.

Failsworth „ m. a. e.

METHODIST—INDEPENDENT.

Band Room, Hanover St. various m. a. e.

Bank Top „ m. a. e.

Cooke Street, Salford „ m. e.

METHODIST—FREE GOSPEL CHURCH.

Shude Hill Messrs. Hooly and Dewhurst m. a. e.

METHODIST—WELSH.

Oak Street various m. a. e.

FRIENDS.

Dickinson Street various m. a. W m.

SWEDENBORGIAN.

New Jerusalem Ch., Rev. Rich. Jones m.a.
Peter Street

King Street, Salford Rev. W. Cowherd m. a. e.

Christ Church, Hulme Rev. S. Dean m. a. e.

MORAVIAN.

Fairfield m. a.

UNITARIAN.

Moseley Street Rev. W. Hawkin m. a.

Early Nonconformist Academies

A careful examination of the early records of the Congregational Fund Board (see *Transactions* v, 134 fig.) furnishes an appreciable number of names of students, to supplement the lists formerly given. During the first few years of its existence the Board supported students at three, at least, of the old academies, as well as a few under private tuition. Thus we find, between January 1696 and December 1704, the following additional names :

Newington Green (*Thomas Rowe's*), see *Transactions* iii, 277 : Asty, S. Batho, Charleton, John Eaton, J. Evans or Emms, W. Fenner, B. Glassfield, Harrison, Masters, Midhurst, Jas. Naylor, Poke, Tookey, Robt. Watkins.

Brynlywarch (*Samuel Jones, aftwd. Rice Price*), see *Transactions* iv, 245 fig. : Binion, Jos. Thomas, Llewellyn Howell, Jonathan (?) Jones, David Rees, ? Morgan.

Attercliffe (*Timothy Follie*), see *Transactions* iv, 334 fig. : Barker, Bentley, Howell Davies, J. Hemingay, Hoskins, J. Phillips.

Saffron Walden (*William Payne*), see *Transactions* v, 81. Doubt was expressed whether there really was any such academy, or whether the few names given were those of private pupils of Mr. Payne. But the C.F.B. records dispel this doubt ; and shew a small grant to Mr. Payne, on 5th Oct., 1696, toward providing domestic convenience for his students. The records also furnish several additional names, viz. : Bennett, Brown, Dormer, Foxon, Keen, Linnet, Meers, Moore, Powell, Jacob Prosser, Mark Putt, Joshua Read, S. Saddington, W. Scott, James Watson, Wells. It is not unlikely that the students at Saffron Walden may have been considerably more numerous ; as the records of the C.F.B. for several years following 1704 are missing, and Mr. Payne survived until 10th July, 1726. Several of his students, 7 or 8 at least, were transferred to the academy at Pinner.

Pinner

Within a few months of its constitution the Fund Board recognized the advantages of an academy under its own direction. Accordingly as early as 13th April, 1696, Mr. Gouge was directed to "write to Mr. Langston about taking young students." Mr. L. was pastor at Ipswich, and instructed altogether six or eight students, some of whom were, on his death in January, 1704, transferred to Dr. Chauncey. On 1st June the Board "Ordered that what students are sent downe anywhere the Treasurer to allow what necessary for their Journey to y^m y^t send y^m downe." On 29th June it was "Ordered that Mr. Mead, Mr. Nesbett, Dr. Chauncey, Mr. Gouge discourse with Mr. Goodwin about educating young Students." This was Thomas Goodwin junior, of Pinner, a son of the more distinguished Puritan divine of the same name (sometime president of Magdalen College, Oxford), and himself a man of considerable learning. His most notable publications were *A Vindication of the Protestant doctrine concerning Justification*, 4to., 1693, and *A Discourse on the True Nature of the Gospel*, 4to., 1695. The first students placed under the care of Mr. Goodwin were two who had received instruction from the Rev. James Forbes at Gloucester. The Board evidently exercised a parental watchfulness over their students, for whom no fixed period of study was prescribed, their allowances being made usually from year to year, but sometimes for a half-year or even a quarter. We have no account of the curriculum at Pinner; but the notices that do occur are not without interest. For example: 15th February, 1697, "Messrs Nisbett and Gouge to discourse with Mr. Goodwin about providing with linen the students who are to be boarded at

Pinner." 7th June, 1697, "Mr. Lobb to examine the students at Pinner, and report." 21st June, 1697, No person to be taken charge of for "University learning" until the Board is satisfied of their "Grammar learning" (*i.e.* ability to read and speak Latin) and general ability. 6th Sept., 1697, Mr. Oddy to be sent to Mr. Goodwin "for one year to study divinity, and shall assist those that are there in the learning of ffilologie" [*sic*]. Mr. Goodwin is to take *only approved students*. 13th Dec., 1697 "Ordered that all students who have been or shall be taken care of by the Board, be acquainted that 'tis expected they should be advised by them when and where to be disposed of for public service." (This and similar regulations apply to students at Newington Green, Attercliffe, Saffron Walden, and under private tuition, as well as to those at Pinner.) 10th Jany., 1698, Mr. Oddy to have £30 for one year from 25th Dec. last, in consideration of instructing the young students in philology.

14th March, 1698, Mr. Oddy is urged to settle with Mr. Goodwin at Pinner. But the settlement does not seem to have been quite satisfactory; for on 21st November we find a note "Before any more be paid to Mr. Oddy, an account to be given of what service he has done." On 1st May, 1699, he has a grant of £7 10s.; and on 2nd October he is discharged; to have £5 in full of all demands.

The only other entries of interest, except admissions, continuations, transfers and dismissals of students, and grants of money, are these: 4th March, 1700, "Before any student be taken into our care, his character to be reported on." No student's allowance to exceed £16 per annum. 8th April, 1700, students' allowances to be paid quarterly.

Mr. Goodwin died about 1716; but as the ac-

counts of the Board for some years after 1704 are missing, we cannot tell how long the Pinner academy continued, or what students were instructed there after the date last mentioned. The names we have are the following, arranged in the order in which they first appear in the accounts; those in *italic* were removed to Pinner from Saffron Walden.

— Wilson ^a	— <i>Wills</i>	<i>Caleb Wroe</i>
— King ^a	— Delemer ^b	<i>John Guyse</i>
— Keith	— Jolly ^b	Stephen Lobb
— Holland	Henry Shepherd	<i>John Green</i>
— Mason	<i>Wm. Scott</i>	— Hill
Nathan Hickford	— Shuttlewood?	Jabez Hughes
— Millway	— Bentley ^c	John Phillips
<i>Saml. Saddington</i>	— Tingey	<i>Fas Watson</i>
<i>Theophilus Lobb</i>	— Olive (or Olliffe)	<i>T. Linnet</i>
		— <i>Keen</i>

^a Transferred from Mr. Forbes

^b Grandsons of Mr. Forbes

^c Also at Attercliffe

Hoxton (I)

Hoxton Square, now by no means an inviting neighbourhood, was in the early part of the eighteenth century a residential district, and was in succession the seat of three distinct academies. The first of these might be regarded as in some sense a continuation of the academy at Coventry, of which an account is given in *Transactions* iv, 41. Dr. Oldfield, having accepted a call to the church in Maid Lane, Southwark, removed from Coventry to London in 1700; and Mr. Tong two years later entered on the pastorate of the church at Salters' Hall. The two former colleagues being thus reunited resumed the work of tuition, at first in Southwark, afterwards in Hoxton Square. In this work they were aided by William Lorimer, M.A., and John Spademan. It does not appear

that Tong took any very active part in the work. Oldfield was theological tutor, for which post his qualifications are said to have been "of the first order." He was chairman at the Salters' Hall Conference, and after the disruption occupied the same position among the non-subscribers. "But while he conceived subscription to be inexpedient, he was zealous for the orthodox doctrine; and published his sentiments on the Trinity in a sermon which united principle with practice, and combined the truth of the doctrine with its important use." (Bogue and Bennett, i, 215.) On the other hand a Unitarian writer says he was "moderate and charitable towards those who differed from him, and . . . of no party but that of God against the devil." As a tutor he encouraged free enquiry on the part of his pupils, and was a zealous and firm advocate for civil and religious liberty. His most important publication was an Essay on *The Improvement of Human Reason in the Pursuit of Learning and conduct of Life*. He died in his 74th year, on 8th November, 1729.

William Lorimer, M.A., was born at Aberdeen in 1641, and educated at Marischal College in his native city. At the age of 24 he came to England, and, having received episcopal ordination, he was first curate at the Charterhouse and then vicar of a parish in Sussex. In a short time, however, he came to the conclusion that several things in the canons of the Episcopal Church were unscriptural, and relinquished his benefice. He then travelled on the continent, and on his return became chaplain in a private family at Henley; and, after the Revolution, minister of a Presbyterian church at Lee, in Kent. He had already gained some reputation by an Essay on *The Divine Authority of the Five Books of Moses*; and in 1696 took part against the Antinomian party in the Crispian

controversy. In 1696 he was invited to the Professorship of Divinity at St. Andrew's, and travelled to Scotland to undertake its duties. But the college having been temporarily closed owing to an infectious distemper, he remained some months at Edinburgh. While there he honourably distinguished himself by interceding—though unsuccessfully—for a boy who had been sentenced to death for blasphemy, and whose speedy execution was urged by some of the Edinburgh ministers, lest the king, becoming aware of the facts, should exercise his prerogative of mercy. The boy was hanged, to the eternal disgrace of all concerned in this proceeding; but there is reason to hope that he died sincerely penitent.

Whether entirely through the temporary closing of the college, or in part through disgust at this display of murderous fanaticism, Lorimer abandoned the professorship and returned to London. He took no pastoral charge, but preached occasionally, assisted at ordinations, and shared with Dr. Oldfield in the work of the academy. He was severely orthodox, writing, in his eightieth year; "I have inviolably adhered to the Doctrinal Articles of the Established Church of England." He died 27th October, 1722. He bequeathed part of his library to Marischal College, and the remainder to be distributed amongst poor ministers and students of the Presbyterian order in England. His name, and that of Dr. Oldfield, stand first and second on the list of Dr. Williams's trustees.

The Rev. John Spademan, M.A., was the son of a minister who was ejected from Authorpe in Lincolnshire, and was afterwards pastor of a congregation at Boston. The son, who graduated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, subscribed to the conditions imposed by the Act of Uniformity; but becoming through several years ever more

and more dissatisfied, and unable to fulfil his clerical duties with a good conscience, he resigned his benefice at Swayton, and migrated to Holland. He was for some time pastor of the English Presbyterian church at Rotterdam ; and while resident there made himself useful in many ways to English students at Leyden and Utrecht. After the Revolution he returned to England, and was co-pastor with John Howe at Silver Street from 1696 to 1705. As a tutor he had qualifications of a high order, having few equals in the learned languages, and possessing a competent knowledge of Dutch, French, Italian, and Spanish. He was also well versed in philosophy and history, and thoroughly familiar with current theological controversies ; and, in addition, full of sympathy with young men. Only the day before his death he urged a friend to insist, in his preaching, more on "a new heart and a new spirit" than on doctrines, or even duties. He died on 4th September, 1708. His publications consist only of a few sermons. He was succeeded as classical tutor by M. Capel, who, before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes had been professor of Hebrew and Oriental languages in the University of Saumur.

We have, unfortunately, no account of the alumni of this first Hoxton academy, beyond the fact that fifteen of them were exhibitioners of the Presbyterian Fund. The latest date assigned to any of them is 1711 ; and the institution seems to have come to an end before the death of Dr. Oldfield, perhaps from the operation of the Schism Act. Dr. W. Harris, in his funeral sermon for Oldfield, says : "There was no house in England among the Dissenters which had so great advantages, or where three such learned persons were joined together so excellently qualified for the several parts allotted to them."

Tiverton

The breaking up of the first academy at Exeter (about 1721) led to the establishment of a similar institution at Tiverton. The tutor was Rev. John Moor, a native of Great Torrington, who had been domestic chaplain and tutor in a county family in Suffolk, and had declined an invitation to a pastoral charge in that county. About 1689 or-90 he accepted a call to Tiverton, apparently as assistant to the Presbyterian minister, Rev. Richard Saunders, whom he at length succeeded. He was ordained in July 1691; and the Pitts meeting-house appears to have been built for him about 1707. There he ministered till his death in 1736. Mr. Moor's private diary is in the Congregational Library; but strange to say, though it tells much about his domestic and financial concerns, and the books which he purchased, it gives no information about his pupils. Of these the following list (which may or may not be complete) has been kindly furnished by Rev. G. E. Eyre:

— Bradick

Bernard Dowdell: Tavistock ord. 9 Nov. 1732; d. 1772

Roger Flexman, D.D.: born 22 Feb. 1707/8; entered Ac. 1723; ord. 15 July 1730; pastor at Modbury, Crediton, Chard, Bradford (Wilts), Rotherhithe; d. 1795*

John Gilberts

— Glass: a physician

— Majendie: [Q. was he son of Rev. Andre Majendie of Dartmouth]

— Manston

Richard Moore: Ord. 28 June 1732; d. 7 Sept. 1754

Thomas Rowe: Old Meeting, Poole, 1735—

John Rudge: Pitts Meeting, 1740-49

John Short: Barnstaple?

Benjamin Stoneman: Ord. 17 June 1731; d. 17 April 1737

Henry Walrond: "A Counsellor" Barnstaple

John Walker: Ord. 9 Aug. 1733

* Mr. Flexman, on quitting the academy in 1730, declined a proposal to remain as assistant to Mr. Moor.

Moor upheld the orthodox position in the Arian controversy, his only published works being *A Calm Defence of the Deity of Jesus Christ*, 48 pp., 2nd edn. 1719; and *The Calm Defence Continued and Maintained*, 140 pp., 1721. Several of his pupils, however, adopted some form of Unitarianism. The academy was not continued after his death; according to Dunsford (*Memorials of Tiverton*) "it became a pound-house for cyder, and afterwards a theatre for strolling players, in which employ it continued occasionally till . . . rebuilt in the year 1781." It is not quite clear what building Dunsford means by "it"; possibly Saunders's old meeting-house, as Pitts Meeting is understood to have continued till 1787.



Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

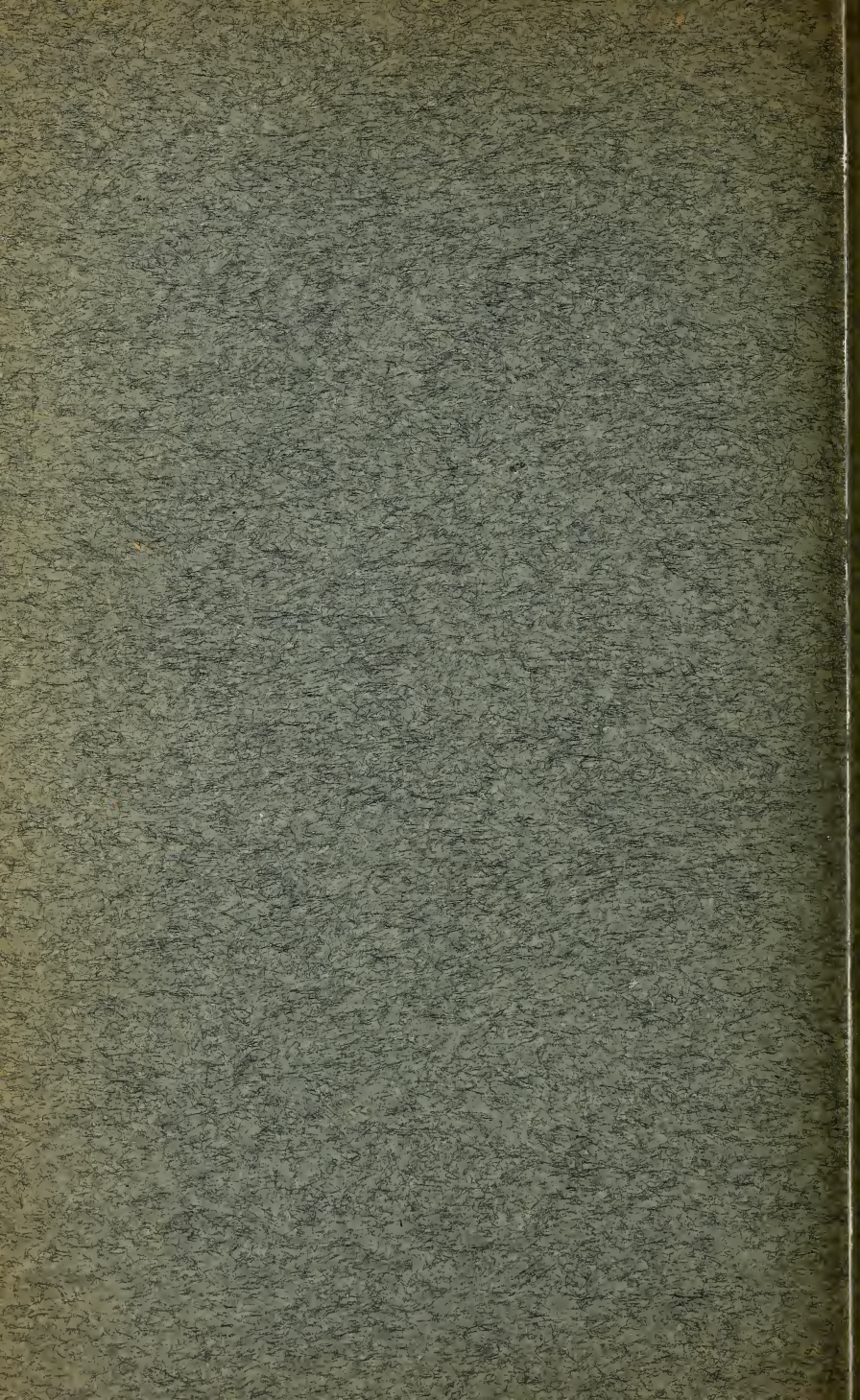
Vol. VI, No. 3]

[FEBRUARY, 1914

Contents

Editorial	145
Early Independency in Essex - - - - -	148
Alfred Goodall	
Remains of Thomas Jollie	164
The Conventicle Act in Operation - - - - -	174
Jeu d'Esprit of Dr. Doddridge	175
Dr. John Stoughton the Elder: II - - - - -	177
J. C. Whitebrook	
Early Nonconformist Academies - - - - -	188
List of Clergy in Wales ejected by the "Propagators," 1649 ff. - - - - -	193
Nonconformist Places of Worship Licensed under the Toleration Act 1688 - - - - -	199
J. Nichol	
Congregational Fund Board - - - - -	209
A Malicious Lampon	214

*May be obtained direct from the Book Saloon, Congregational Union of
England and Wales, Inc., Memorial Hall, London, E.C.*



DATE MICROFILMED

6 Aug. 1990

ITEM # 3

PROJECT and

G. S.

ROLL #

CALL #

XL18-102 1696483
#578

Editorial

THE Meeting of the Society held in connection with the Autumnal Session of the Congregational Union at Southend, in October last, was in many respects a satisfactory and hopeful gathering. The chief representatives of the Society, whose presence is the normal condition of securing a "house," were at the meeting: the venerable president, Dr. John Brown, the chairman, Dr. Benj. Nightingale, the treasurer, Prof. Lyon Turner, Principal Gordon, as were also the secretaries, Mr. Crippen and Mr. Pierce. The general attendance of members and of delegates was unusually good.

* *

The paper read by the Rev. A. Goodall on "The Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex" appears in the present issue of our *Transactions*, so that those not present may appreciate its fitness to the occasion. It also elicited from Dr. John Brown, Mr. H. N. Dixon of Northampton and others some interesting criticisms and anecdotes. In the business discussion the matter which chiefly occupied the meeting was a proposal which originated with Principal Gordon, that an Historical Exhibition should be organised under the direction of the Society. It naturally aroused a very interesting discussion and was very generally approved, if the difficulties attending the proposal could be overcome. Of the educational value of such an Exhibition little need be said. On that score it will easily commend itself to all Congregationalists. It would also probably advance materially the interests of the Society. Scattered throughout the country there must be a large number of objects of historical value to Congregationalists which would, if they could be brought together for public inspection, form an Exhibition of exceptional attractiveness: rare books, manuscripts, portraits painted and engraved, relics of the great leaders, views of ancient churches and historical scenes, old communion plate and church furniture and many other things. But to ascertain the whereabouts of these desirable objects, the conditions under which they can be brought, say, to London for exhibition during the Congregational play-week, how they should be housed, catalogued, labelled and made available for an attractive and educational exhibition, evidently is a very

considerable task and needs the zealous co-operation of all the members of the Society. The matter will be presented for discussion next May.

Before closing this brief report, it should be mentioned that the meeting at Southend was most hospitably entertained at Warrior Square church. The Rev. S. A. Latham placed the church and vestries freely at our disposal and entertained all those able to remain to tea.

* *

It was due to pure oversight that we failed to notice in our last issue *The Life of John Goodwin*, by Rev. H. W. Clark, D.D., in the *Congregational Worthies* series. It is strange that a man of so great prominence in his day as John Goodwin, who died of the plague in 1665, had to wait for a memoir till 1822. In that year his life was written by a Wesleyan minister, Rev. Thomas Jackson, who was more interested in Goodwin's Remonstrant Theology than in his large-hearted advocacy of unqualified religious liberty. Jackson's book is cumbersome in style and overloaded with quotations; and, though reprinted about forty years ago, is little read, because, happily, nobody nowadays needs to have it proved that the invitations of the Gospel are as sincere as they are universal. This was the theme of Goodwin's great book *Redemption Redeemed*; and, being the only one of the great Puritan theologians who frankly avowed the Arminian position, he also proved that there is no necessary connection between Arminianism and Despotism in Church and State by his vigorous pamphlets in defence of the regicides. Dr. Clark has done good service in producing this handy memoir of a leader of thought who was seven generations in advance of his age; who shared with Milton the honour of having his political writings burned by the hangman; who as a theologian was the precursor of Fletcher of Madeley and Morison of Glasgow, and as a champion of religious liberty may be ranked with Smith of Gainsborough and Roger Williams.

* *

We are requested by Mr. S. Jones to make the following correction in his paper on *Three Nottingham Worthies* in our last issue: On page 118, l. 6, *after C.L. add D.W.L., B.M.*

* *

An interesting sketch of the Congregational church at Romford, the preparation of which has involved a considerable amount of original research, has lately been published by Dr. J. P. Longstaff.

* *

A good handbook to the *Campo Santo* of Bunhill Fields has long

been a desideratum, and this has been supplied in a volume recently issued by Mr. A. W. Light. Its literary quality is not of the highest, but its wealth of information makes ample amends. In addition to a concise history of the cemetery, and a plan which locates about 100 interments, it contains numerous memoirs of Nonconformist worthies, seven or eight good portraits, representations from photographs or sketches of more than 70 monuments, and several miscellaneous illustrations.

* *

Our readers are earnestly requested to do what is in their power to increase the membership of the Society. There is much valuable matter in hand awaiting publication, and our Reserve Fund is exhausted. Members are respectfully reminded that subscriptions are due on 1st January; and should be forwarded to Prof. G. Lyon Turner, M.A., Wheatham Hill, Hawkley, E. Liss, Hants; or to Rev. W. Pierce, 33 Handsworth Avenue, Highams Park, Chingford, Essex.

* *

Our readers will be glad to learn that Mr. Peel's Calendar of the Morrice MSS. in Williams's Library is in a forward condition. It will be issued from the Cambridge University Press, in two 8vo. vols., uniform with Mr. Burrage's *Early English Dissenters*, price about 10/6 per vol., net. It is hoped that it may be in the hands of the public in April or May. The plan which Mr. Peel has adopted is to indicate the place where every document which has already been printed may be found; and for the rest either to print at length, or to give extracts *verbatim et literalim*, or to present a brief summary, according to the importance of each particular document. The papers dealt with number 257; they will be arranged as nearly as possible in chronological order, and furnished with a valuable introduction.

* *

The Annual Meeting of the Congregational Historical Society will be held at the Memorial Hall, on Wednesday 13th May, at 3 o'clock.

Early Independency in Essex

THE great county histories of Essex by Morant and Wright make only passing reference to Nonconformity, and are mainly occupied with the pedigree and the heraldry of the county families. Our greatest authority for the history of the Nonconformist churches is the Rev. T. W. Davids, who was pastor of Lion Walk church, Colchester, and who published in 1863 his great work *The Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex, from the time of Wycliffe to the Restoration*. He says: "The prominence of Essex in the annals of evangelical Nonconformity is second to that of no other county in the kingdom. While John Wycliffe was yet in the zenith of his usefulness his followers were already numerous here. It is also possible, at least, that the first known Wycliffist martyr was an Essex man."

For the later period there seems to be no work treating of the general history of the county. But Davids has left a vast amount of information concerning the churches of Essex in the form of MSS. notes which are in the possession of the Congregational Library at the Memorial Hall. By the courtesy of the librarian, Mr. Crippen, I have had free access to these notes; and perhaps I can best serve the interests of this Society by bringing before you some of the interesting and valuable matter buried in these unpublished collections.

The interesting and important MSS. left by Davids are of a very incomplete and fragmentary character. They consist mainly of jottings and extracts concerning the various churches of the county subsequent to the period covered by his *Annals*. It would be difficult to get them into anything like a shape suitable for publication, and to form a connected narrative it would be necessary to supplement them from other sources. This would be no easy task, as the records of so many of the churches have not been preserved, and indeed in many cases only very scanty records ever existed. But taking the MSS. as they are, disjointed and incomplete, they give some interesting information as to the condition of the churches of Essex during the 18th and 19th centuries.

The majority of dissenting churches in this county were not, as has been thought, originally Congregational. But, contrary to what was the case in most parts of England, many of the Presbyterians were never served by Arminian or Arian pastors, and many of them embraced the Congregational discipline before their pristine vigour was irrecoverably gone. These circumstances account for the prosperous state of a large number of old and originally Presbyterian congregations in this county.

At the time of the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, licences were obtained in Essex for 42 Presbyterian, 12 Independent, and 1 Baptist churches. The 12 Independent communions were those at Boxted, Braintree, Coggeshall, Colchester, Dunmow, Epping, Great Tey, Hatfield Regis, Ongar, Little Hallingbury, Manningtree and Matching.

The Essex churches shared in the fierce controversies that raged in the 17th and 18th centuries between Arminianism and Calvinism, between

Presbyterianism and Independency. And traces of those conflicts are to be seen in many church records.

The largest congregations in Essex were from the period of their formation Independent. In this respect Essex differed from the greater part of England, and this difference might account for the early ascendancy of the Independent interest. The process of the evolution from Presbyterianism to Independency cannot apparently be very strictly and closely described. In most parts of England the Presbyterian congregations of the 17th and 18th centuries gradually lapsed into Unitarianism; in Essex they became Independents.

During the former half of the 18th century the connection between the Scottish Church and the English dissenters was close and affectionate. Many Scottish ministers became pastors of dissenting congregations in Essex.

In the beginning of the 18th century the Presbyterian and Independent ministers of Essex held distinct assemblies, but good men of both denominations seem to have assembled with their brethren.

More than one attempt was made to form an association of the churches of Essex and East Anglia. Dr. Taylor of Norwich took pains to establish an annual assembly of dissenting ministers of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex; without any distinction of sentiment. A considerable number met at Palgrave, May 18, 1757, of very different religious sentiments. But the attempt to form an annual meeting failed. Next year they met at Colchester, and this was the last meeting.

In the beginning of the 18th century there existed a society called the Hertfordshire Association, which was most probably that which was

afterwards called the Essex and Hertfordshire Association. This body consisted of Presbyterian and Independent ministers living near the borders of the two counties, and was absorbed in the present Essex Association. At the last meeting of the original body, which was appointed to be held at Saffron Walden, there was no minister present except the preacher Mr. Angus, and Mr. Jennings of Thaxted, who was not a member.

The change from Presbyterianism to Independency was still going on when, in 1853, Mr. John Bright moved in the House of Commons for a return of the registered places of worship in the kingdom. That return gave the number of Nonconformist places of worship in Essex as 168, of which about one half were described as Independent. Many others described as Presbyterian afterwards became Independent.

The early history of the church at LITTLE BADDOW, near Chelmsford, exhibits some of the difficulties with which the Nonconformist churches of the 18th century had to contend, and the unsettled condition of religious life at this time.

The congregation at Little Baddow was originally Presbyterian; and in common with most old dissenting congregations in secluded villages it owed its origin in some measure to the barbarity of the Five Mile Act: an Act which instead of accomplishing its desired end of separating the persecuted pastors from their flocks, and of starving them into conformity, had the effect of fixing many a shining light in the deepest seclusion.

As in the days of the first apostles they that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the gospel, so in the days of these Puritan apostles the effect of driving out from large towns the men of learning, culture, and piety was that some of

the most distinguished of them settled in small country places, and became centres of spiritual force and religious activity, and exercised a wide and far reaching influence on behalf of spiritual freedom. In this way some of the small village congregations had the immense advantage of being ministered to by men of superior ability and character. These men by their culture and piety often not only gathered around them the simple country folk, but gained also the friendship of devout men in the highest ranks of society, such as Lord Barrington at Baddow, and Lord Rich at Rochford.

The first dissenting minister of Little Baddow appears to have been the Rev. John Oakes, the ejected vicar of Boreham. He continued at Baddow until 1678, when he removed to London to succeed Mr. Thomas Vincent, so well known by his devoted and perilous labours in the time of the plague. It is said of Mr. John Oakes that he was "a man of great piety, and recommended his religion by his cheerful innocence." He was followed by two other ejected ministers, and the son of a third.

In 1707 a Mr. Thomas Leavesley was minister at Little Baddow. In his time the congregation numbered from 200 to 300, including 10 "gentlemen," 18 county and 11 borough voters. He was, in 1723, chosen by the congregation in Old Jewry, London, but the change was not a success, in the opinion of an intelligent layman, who was a member of Dr. Doddridge's church at Northampton. This intelligent layman says of Mr. Leavesley :

"He was a friendly good natured gentleman, and had an excellent gift in prayer ; but by his living long in the country amongst a plain people he had used himself to such latitude in his composes that he cannot bring himself to that correct and methodical way of preaching which is expected in London,

especially in such a congregation ; and he is not popular on that account."

From 1726 Thomas Jeffery was the minister of Little Baddow, where he met amongst others Collins the deist, and where he had Lord Barrington for hearer, and visited at his lordship's house. These visits to Lord Barrington were opportunities of high discourse.

"It was the custom to have a Greek testament laid on the table after dinner, and they were all men of letters, and had a taste for scriptural criticism."

Thomas Jeffrey published writings against the deistical views of Collins.

Lord Barrington was a great support to the Nonconformist cause. But as too frequently happens his loyalty to it was not inherited by his descendants. The second Lord Barrington like his ancestor was at first a dissenter and worshipped at the Baddow meeting. But considering that dissent was needless, or, according to the opinion of the day, finding dissent a rather awkward predicament for a man of rank, he determined on leaving the Nonconformists.

Mr. John Stiffe was then pastor of the church, and he shared the views of his noble patron. Accordingly on one Lord's day Mr. Stiffe preached his farewell sermon at the meeting, and having in the course of the following week received episcopal ordination, on the next Sunday he went to church in company with Lord Barrington and preached his first sermon in the parochial edifice. He afterwards became the vicar of Little Baddow, which office he continued to hold for many years. He also carried over with him into the Established Church a number of pupils of the classical academy which he conducted, some of whom were of dissenting families.

The chronicler has a parting kick at this renegade Nonconformist minister. He says :

“The character of Mr. Stiffe was not such as to produce any regret among his former friends for his loss. He became decidedly irreligious, and at length sank down into hardened despair. He once met Mr. Perry between the church and the meeting-house and said : ‘Mr. Perry, I have preached so many years at that meeting-house, and so many at that church, and believe I shall be damned after all, and don’t care if I am, good morning.’ ”

The sixth son of Viscount Barrington, and youngest brother of the one who left the meeting-house for the church with Mr. Stiffe, afterwards became Bishop of Durham. Being the son of a dissenter he was one among several prelates who had received only dissenting baptism. Here is a nice point for the advocates of apostolic succession, of baptismal regeneration.

The church at BOCKING had as its first pastor, in 1700, Mr. T. Shepherd, who was the son of an ejected minister. Mr. Shepherd narrowly missed a call to the church at Crutched Friars, London. He was a candidate in opposition to Dr. Harris, and had a majority of the church by one vote.

“But by art and management the election was overruled by circumstances which occasioned a large breach which has not been removed to this day.”

So says the *Protestant Dissenting Magazine*.

His failure to be elected for the London church was to the benefit of Bocking, for Mr. Shepherd held a successful ministry there for 40 years, and was the means during his ministry of converting a thousand souls.

“He raised your interest from a very low beginning to an exceedingly large and respectable society.”

George Whitfield preached at Bocking on his tour through Essex. At a common near Braintree

he had a congregation of 10,000 people. The church at Bocking invited him to be their pastor, but he declined. He however recommended to the people Mr. Thos. Davidson, who may be called the father of the Essex Association, as he preached its first sermon at Witham in the summer of 1758.

The origin of the church at BRAINTREE is interesting. In the year 1787 three persons met together for prayer at Mount House, Braintree, and were soon joined by others who were like-minded. This little company of believing and praying Christians increased Sabbath by Sabbath. When sufficiently numerous they applied to the Countess of Huntingdon to send them a minister to preach to them. The little cause so prospered that they resolved to form a church and entered into a covenant so to do. This covenant was dated 1788 and was signed by nine persons. It consisted of seventeen rules, and the first of these rules shews the spirit in which these nine Christians regarded their effort. It reads as follows:

Rule I. "We do mutually agree and solemnly to the utmost of our own power to walk together in one body, and as near as possible of one mind in all sweetness of spirit, and to love one another without dissimulation, as highly becomes the disciples of Jesus Christ."

In the same year, 1788, the first chapel was built at a cost of £700.

In 1813 the Rev. J. Carter was the pastor of the church and the building was enlarged. This ministry lasted from 1813 to 1863, a period of fifty years, and the church had only two ministers in seventy-six years. (The present minister, the Rev. Johnson Cole, has nearly completed his thirty years of service.)

COLCHESTER seems to have been a storm centre

in the controversies between Arianism and Calvinism, in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

A Mr. Cornell of Mow Lane and Lion Walk, writing in Feb. 1754, states that he was preaching a course of sermons upon "Heart-searching subjects" which some of his hearers had not been used to, "and could not bear to hear (as they termed it) such damnable doctrines to be told that except their righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, etc., etc." "Some went to church, and others determined to get some one who would speak smooth things to them, and prophesy deceits."

They succeeded in getting a young man named Wren who was sent down to Colchester from Cumberland. Mr. Cornell says of him :

"He preached on 1st Jan. on a public occasion in which both congregations are concerned, and the poor creature, that his prayer might be exact, as well as his preaching, he had it wrote down, and read it to us, though not with the best of graces either. I stood at a distance and wondered at the close of every sentence his eyes were turned down to his cushion, but was informed afterwards by those that saw it, that his prayer was wrote down. His sermon was not suitable to the occasion, nor yet to the grand criterion of the divine word. It was rank Arminianism. I apprehend both by it and the conclusion of his prayer he is cast in the Arian mode. If the present generation see such dreadful abuse of a man's charitable donations, what must we expect the succeeding generation to do. Coward left his money to bring up Calvinists and Congregationalists, but alas! too many of the contrary stamp are yearly educated, for which abuse and perversion of the man's charity some men will doubtless have a sad account to give by and by before the divine tribunal, though they think themselves above being accountable to the poor churches now."

Happily the account of Mr. Wren had its bright spot in spite of his heterodoxy ; for the chronicler states that in the course of the American War he exerted himself with great zeal in favour of the unhappy prisoners of that country. He obtained relief from the government and from the public

by charitable subscriptions. And after the peace Congress gave him their thanks and a diploma.

Helen's Lane, Colchester, had in 1754 Mr. T. Stanton as minister; "who soon declared enmity to the doctrines of the Cross, kindled the flames of controversy, gave people a relish for error, and planted the deadly upas tree of Socinianism on that spot which had seen the holy and divine Plant of Renown flourishing, and affording both fruit and shade to weary and hungry souls."

"Mr. Wm. Waters came in April, 1776, and watered the pestiferous plant Mr. Stanton had planted."

Others followed who seem to have excited the indignation of this chronicler, until in 1795 Rees Harris closed his 13 years' ministry at the earnest desire of his congregation, taking for his farewell text, Ps. 31, 11.

"I was a reproach among all mine enemies, but especially among my neighbours, and a fear to mine acquaintance: they that did see me without fled from me."

We come now to a name that stands out brightly in the history of Essex Nonconformity, the name of *Taylor*.

In November, 1795, Isaac Taylor, who was a deacon at Lavenham in Suffolk, began to preach to the people at Colchester, and settled with them as pastor in the next year, being ordained on April 21st, 1796. He continued as pastor until September 30th, 1810, when the congregation had fallen away so that he resigned his charge, "having met with many discouraging circumstances which seemed to intimate that his work was done in Colchester." Though Mr. Taylor preached here for about 15 years the old Socinian leaven was not thoroughly eradicated, and it of course presented a very formidable obstacle in the way of usefulness.

Isaac Taylor removed to Ongar and became the minister of the church there.

The next minister at Helen's Lane church, Colchester, was Mr. Drake, who stayed only 9 months.

“This hasty dissolution was in a great measure owing to some Antinomians who had obtruded on the people the occasional services of a favourite preacher of theirs, one John Church, a wretch in human form, but in his nature so vile that it would dishonour the most unclean beast to compare him to it.”

According to this chronicler—Joseph Herrick, dated Mar. 31st, 1821—Socinianism and Antinomianism continued to cause trouble in this church, until having gained a majority on the trust, they went to extremes, threw in the roof of the building and made it impossible to conduct services.

The orthodox members concluded that it would be less costly to erect a new building than to go to law, and the result was the building of a church not far from the old one (“New Place”). This new church entered at once on a career of prosperity, and the old meeting-house after lying completely open about a year and 8 months was repaired and re-opened by the London Socinians who settled one of their students there.

In 1851 Helen's Lane chapel was taken over by a number of ex-Wesleyans who had departed from the Wesleyan society and formed a church on Congregational lines.

In these notes on the Colchester church I have kept close to the language of contemporary writers, because their forcible expressions reveal the bitter length to which controversies of the time led them.

The mention of Isaac Taylor introduces us to one of the most gifted and interesting families connected with Essex Nonconformity. And it is

a relief to turn from the violent disputes of the time to this home of cultured Christianity. The family, when they left Colchester for Ongar in 1811, consisted of Isaac Taylor, the engraver, his wife, his son Isaac, and his two daughters Ann and Jane. Isaac Taylor the son was one of the foremost literary men of his time, the author of many books distinguished for their originality of thought and pure style, such as *The Physical Theory of Another Life*, *The Natural History of Enthusiasm*, *Hebrew Poetry*, &c.

The daughters Ann and Jane were the joint authors of several volumes of poems and children's hymns. The *Hymns for Infant Minds* contains several which still find a place in our collections. Ann Taylor married Rev. Joseph Gilbert, tutor of Rotherham college, who had been for a short time pastor of the church at Southend, and was author of the Congregational lecture on *Atonement*. She left a charming autobiography which was edited and supplemented with other material by her son Josiah, of Ongar, a man of rare culture and artistic skill, who was for more than 50 years associated with the Congregational church at Ongar. In this *Autobiography and other Memorials by Mrs. Gilbert*, we obtain a glimpse into the family life of cultured Nonconformity in Essex in the last years of the 18th century, and the early part of the 19th.

Whilst at Lavenham in Suffolk, Isaac Taylor was occupied with his numerous commissions for the engraving of celebrated pictures. He was a deacon of the church there, and had often in the absence of the minister conducted a service in the hall of his house. His daughter says:—

“ His early aspirations had been directed to the ministry ; his qualifications both as a Christian, and a man of thought and knowledge were probably superior to what the church as

now situated would be likely to secure ; and he had moreover the opportune advantage of an income which would relieve its now crippled resource."

It was proposed by the departing minister that Mr. Taylor should be his successor. But the majority of the Lavenham congregation were not willing that a fellow member should be their minister. Not long after this Mr. Taylor was invited to the pastorate of the church at Colchester to which reference has already been made. But, as his daughter says :

"there were tendencies in the congregation in opposite directions on doctrinal matters, which had never been worked off, and various circumstances inclined him to terminate his engagement."

Mrs. Gilbert gives a vivacious account of the condition of religion in Colchester at this period.

"The number of chapels at the time we knew Colchester was small. Dissent there was not many-headed, but neither was it intelligent, nor of a sort to promise increase. There was a tendency to "high doctrine" (leaving a low sediment) in most of the congregations. In the large old "Round Meeting," holding about a thousand people, and generally well filled, there was an elderly, heavy, unattractive minister, under the singular chant of whose slow monotonous delivery the young people of his charge just thought their own thoughts and considered they had paid sufficient respect to Sunday. Indeed, so sad was the state of things when we entered Colchester, that no young person of good education, position and intelligence was associated in the membership of any Nonconformist church in the town The dissenters of the town were men of habit more than men of piety, and few knew or thought why they dissented."

According to Mrs. Gilbert the Established Church was in as sad a condition.

"Among the 12 churches in the town the ministrations at one only were accounted evangelical" and the abilities of the clergyman officiating there, excellent man as he was, were about as commonplace as were likely to obtain holy orders

"Of the clergyman of our own parish, the Rev. Yorick S—,

I can only record the sacerdotal looking but very portly figure the rotundity of which was the more striking, from his habit of walking with his hands behind him, and which occasioned at last his melancholy end ; for not observing thereby an open cellar, he fell into it and was killed ! "Alas, poor Yorick !"

Mrs. Gilbert's book well repays reading, both for its literary grace, and for its insight into the religious condition of the age.

This interesting family has left ample records of its varied talents, and its memory is still cherished by the Congregational church at Ongar, where brasses and other memorials are to be seen.

I cannot conclude this paper without saying something about the town in which we are met.

Wright in his *History of Essex*, published in 1836, refers to Southend as "the very pleasant hamlet of Southend in the parish of Prittlewell near the mouth of the Thames." After describing the view from the terrace, he adds : "There are places of worship here for Independent and Baptist dissenters." Of these "places of worship" there appears to be no record earlier than 1799.

I find no mention of Southend in Davids' *Annals*, though he had some notes in his MSS. collections.

About the last year of the 18th century the Clayton family visited the place, and the Rev. John Clayton, senr., with his sons John and George preached in a room at No. 3 Grove Terrace. From that time Congregational services were regularly held. The Rev. W. Austin, who was living at Leigh, preached for some time in the above place once each Lord's day, and afterwards in a room over the Royal Library, No. 1 High Street. A meeting-house was erected in 1806.

From 1806 to 1809 the pulpit was supplied by students from Homerton College, when the Rev. Joseph Gilbert became first pastor, and left after a

ministry of two years to be associated with Dr. Williams as tutor of Rotherham college. During Mr. Gilbert's brief ministry the congregation increased and a church was formed consisting of six members. For years the congregation had to struggle with serious difficulties and against much discouragement.

The Rev. Andrew White was pastor from 1816 to 1827.

"Of his ministry there is scarcely any trace to be found, but it appears that upon his retirement the circumstances of the church were by no means flourishing, since the people had to fall back upon the occasional and gratuitous services of neighbouring ministers."

With the help of the Rev. G. Harris of Rochford, and the Rev. S. Cliff of Wakering, one service on the Lord's day was maintained for about a year and a half, when the Essex Congregational Union took the matter up.

The Rev. Richard Fletcher was minister from 1830 to 1842.

"During Mr. Fletcher's ministry the church held a respectable useful position in the neighbourhood. It was kept in peace, various societies were formed for the benefit of the poor, and fifty-two persons were added to the number of members."

The Rev. James Wager was pastor from 1844 to 1863, and since that time the history of the church has been one of increasing usefulness and power.

The little controversies that divided our churches in the 18th century gradually died down.

Dr. Dale says that :

"From the time of the Salters' Hall Conference it became apparent that the Presbyterian ministers, and many of their churches, were drifting fast into Arianism ; and from Arianism they went on to what was called Socinianism. But the great majority, both of Congregational ministers and of Congregational churches, held fast to the Trinitarian faith."

And the departure of the Presbyterians from the evangelical faith contributed to the strengthening of Independency, by causing many of those who were opposed to the teaching to join the Independent churches, and in some cases to take possession of the meeting-house, and change the constitution from Presbyterianism to Independency. From these troubles the Essex churches emerged strong in the evangelical faith, in which, on the whole, they have continued steadfast until the present day.

ALFRED GOODALL

Remains of Thomas Jollie

Ejected Minister of Altham, Lancashire

AMONG the Additional MSS. in the British Museum is a stout quarto volume, No. 25,463, labelled *Collectanea Hunteriana; Historical, Biographical and Topographical Collections*. These papers were collected by Joseph Hunter, the well known author of a *Life of Oliver Heywood*; and a large proportion of them are in his own not too legible handwriting.

One group, commencing on folio 147, is entitled "Remains of the family of Jollie, lent to me by their descendant, Jacob H. Patisson Esqr., of Witham in Essex, in September 1847." Some of the documents appear to be transcribed in full, others are concisely summarized or briefly described: and in some cases, unfortunately, it would seem that the copyist has begun with a literal transcript, and as he proceeded either omitted or condensed such portions as he found less interesting.

Efforts to trace the original documents have thus far been unsuccessful.

I.

[*The first article is described as "A Manuscript carefully written as if for publication;" but it does not seem ever to have been published.*]

Evill-Tidings,

OR

An humble Declaration of the sense of the Associated Congregational Churches in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in Lancashire, Cheshire, Darbshire and Nottinghamshire concerning the Lord's generall withdrawing of his special presence from the Churches of Christ, and the causes thereof: also their earnest exhortation to one another and to other churches in this

Together with a more full opening and urging of those particulars, and some suitable advice ministered

By Thomas Jollie, an unworthy servant of Christ in the gospel, and pastor to the church which meets at Altham in Lancashire.

And when the people heard these evil tidings they mourned, and no man put on his ornaments. Exod. 33, 4.

To the Officers and brethren of the Congregational Churches

associated in the counties of Cheshire, Lancashire, West Riding of Yorkshire, &c. Grace and Peace be multiplied.

I make bold &c.

I had the opportunity to present your prayer according to your desire to the Savoy Assembly, and also some account of my thoughts upon the contents thereof in a sermon before them. [*The Meeting was begun on the 29th of 7th month 1658*—which did so suit with their apprehension and found such acceptance that I was drawn out to spend a little time on drawing up these you have now before you, &c.

Address to the Reader.

[*These are Prefatory Matter.*]

At Sheffield, 1658, on the 22 of the 7 month the elders and messengers of the Congregational Churches in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire & Nottinghamshire did unanimously conclude upon the Particulars following:—

Having long with sadness observed how much the Lord seems to have absented himself from his ordnances, and that it is not in this respect as in former days, we have been led to enquire into the cause of it; some of which we apprehend may be the following:—

1 The want of that good old powerful preaching of the Law & Gospel, of Faith, Repentance, and Obedience in their due places.

2 The want of that singular reverence and love towards the Institutions of the Lord Jesus which sometimes have been, or suitable (?) to the present enlargement of our privileges: also not profiting according to the benefits received, and the great unthankfulness both for the free enjoyment of Gospel mercies and the glorious salvation in which the Lord hath gone out for his people in order thereunto.

3 That the frame words and conversation of the Lord's people have not in all their affairs answered their profession they make of separation from the world, of more holiness than others, but have been much conformed to this world, and that they have sought great things for themselves.

4 The want of the duty of Love to differing Saints; the want of a love of pity towards (accompanied with a faithful endeavour after the good of) the souls of relations, neighbours, and all without; uncharitableness and censoriousness towards some that are godly; pleasing ourselves too much in thinking and speaking of their failings without Gospel compassion and faithfulness; not laying to heart the state of those without, and not laying-out ourselves for the drawing of them into the wayes (?) of God, and for restraint of their gross sins.

5 The want of the spirit of mourning for the spiritual judgments, abominations, and comings short of duty in the, churches and

nation ; the want of the spirit of supplication, especially on behalf of the Churches of Christ, Rulers, and those without ; also a spirit of security & lukewarmness, not being lively and vigorous in holy actings (?) towards & for God.

6 The want of a peaceable spirit among saints who differ only in some points of discipline or other things of inferior concernment and doubtful disputation ; not having communion together as far as they are agreed, and their light will permit ; not following the things that make for peace.

7 A skeptical wanton spirit in some, that neither relish wholesome truths nor the yoke of discipline, but is hankering after novelties and licentiousness : in others attending more the external governments than heartwork, the power of Jesus Christ there, the main duties of Church relations, with the life and power thereof.

8 Pride of spirit and carriage under greater privileges and profession ; too much despising our brethren, and not acknowledging our own infirmity.

9 Error about sure truths: proud and unpeaceable (?) profession of otherwise lesser errors ; not being conscientious in managing (?) differences ; much indulgence towards evils in the Church on the one hand, and the other want of forbearance towards our brethren erring in smaller matters.

10 Unbounded discourse about disputable and less important matters, especially by and among persons unfit to judge in such things.

11 Officers and brethren exceeding the bounds of their places, and coming short of the duties thereof.

12 Private spiritedness, looking more on our own things than on the things of Christ ; not being cordially and greatly (?) affected towards the concernments of the churches of God everywhere, and in all things : particularly that there hath not been a reasonable and sober urging of truths concerning the Fall of Antichrist and the raising up of Zion (Though it must be confessed that there is a fault in undue and immoderate pressing of these things.) Also that the saints have not studied and endeavoured more the healing of the wounds and distempers of other churches, in all tenderness, wisdom, and fidelity.

13 The great (and in some the total) neglect of Church communion, and particularly in the Supper of the Lord, by many Godly people : the profanation of Sealing Ordinances by the ignorant and scandalous ; Also the not duly lamenting or not testifying against the said abuses, and the corruption of the ministry of the nation.

14 Forgetting and breaking of vows made to God in times of straits, and upon the event (?) of great deliverances : also a grievous murmuring under our mercies and against the instruments thereof.

These things we apprehend may be causes of God's withdrawing and do recommend them to the serious thought and consideration of all such as fear the Lord everywhere, that have the same sense with us of the want of the Lord's special mighty presence at his ordinances so much to be desired and sought for ; professing our serious purpose to make diligent and impartial enquiry, that if these evils are to be found among us and among those that are related to us in Church communion or otherwise, (?) that we will in the strength of the grace of Christ humble ourselves under God's mighty hand, and seek his face, reforming what we find in these or other respects amiss among us, and taking away whatever we find to be a provocation to the eyes of His glory : that so the Lord may again return among us, and smile as he was wont upon our solemn assemblies, that we may become a people of his pleasure, and such as he may delight to dwell among.

[*The treatise, Hunter says, "fills 102 folio pages. It is a kind of expansion of the above resolutions, all in generals, no facts, no speciality at all." At the close are the following very interesting notes by the author ;—*]

"Upon review of these passages, which had passed near 40 years ago, I find cause to reflect upon myself therein. Alas, I doubt there was much of mine own spirits boyling over in a zeal not well enough tempered : though now in my cooler age it may be I may too much use a drage (?). Yet I dare not deny that there was then, and is now, somewhat of the Spirit of God ; yea, that there was a great deal of cause for what we said, had I but managed the matter with more prudence and modesty. Notwithstanding, so visible were the evils themselves, and so woful the consequences also, that it may partly excuse my youthful sharpness and forwardness, had I not said all with the grace of a young Elihu.

O how evidently for all this hath the providence of God witnessed against us, in making us to eat the fruit of our own doings by our many years' suffering ! I wished we be purged from the iniquity of Peor to this day : nay, may we not fear a remissness and slumbering, like that of the Virgins, upon the Bridegroom's coming. So that we now need the voice of many now crying in the wilderness with the powerful spirit of Elias, and of that cry at midnight, to awaken us, that we prepare for the Bridegroom in his kingdom at hand."

II.

Some Scripture helps for the regaining of the presence of God when he is withdrawn : Presented by the Brethren of the Church in Chesterfield to this Reverend Assembly, in these ten following particulars.

[*This is a kind of Echo of the Resolutions ; but the last proposes the removal from Church Society and from Gospel Administration of those who walk contrary to the Rule of the Word.*]

III.

Certain Propositions for the clearing of the Gospel Order concerning the Ordination of a Teaching Officer, as things now stand with us ; and for our better accord in our practice thereof.

[*Abridged thus* :—]

Every candidate for the ministry must first solemnly own the Lord's Covenant, and be a member of a particular church. (2) Spend some time on trial, to be exercised by proper persons. (3) Help other churches as a kind of deacon.

To be set apart by Solemn Prayer with Fasting in the face of that particular Church he pertains unto, who do best know him and have most right to dispose of him : and who by the laying on of the hands of Teaching Elders, by whom he is to receive instruction and charge : this act of ordaining to the ministry being everywhere in the New Testament ascribed unto such elders : Acts 13 : 5, Num. 27 : 18, 19, Lu. 10 : 7, 2 Tim 4 : 1, 2. When a people want a competent number of Teaching Elders, then to set apart the candidate such a people may by virtue of communion of Churches call in the assistance of other churches, who ought to afford them assistance by their officers on that account : The New Testament not allowing others to lay on hands in this case, and it being so offensive in others to take upon them to "conveigh" that office, power, which themselves have not when such Teaching Elders are to be had, and even made use of in this way : Acts 14 : 23, 1 Tim 4 : 14, 1 Chron 13 : 7-9, 15 : 12-13.

The People to make a solemn choice and call of such a Minister, signified by holding up of their hands ; the whole essence of a minister's call to be their pastor and teacher consisting in the people's election, and yet it being very requisite to have the concurrence of sister churches by their Elders and messengers in the confirmation thereof.

No Imposing of hands in respect of a Pastoral Relation when hands had been imposed already in respect to Ministerial office.

The Minister remaineth a Minister in virtue of his ordination to the ministry, though he may cease to be a pastor.

IV.

Certain Propositions to the Accommodation & Communion in Churches which do agree in the Fundamentals of Faith and Substantials of Order : being the result of former meetings to that purpose, and something of this nature being desired at our last meeting.

Each particular Congregation a complete Church, fit to all ordinances.

There is a Communion of Churches—to associate and help one another &c. Let there be mutual satisfaction respecting soundness of judgment concerning the gross errors of Socinianism &

Arminianism, of Popery & Prelacy, of Antinomianism & Anabaptism : that there be not anything of a leprosy (?) in the head or a flaw in our foundations.

To be satisfied of Mutual Sobriety.

That it is not Schism to separate from the parish assemblies in the present posture they are in, whilst their administrations are so corrupt and their is little hope of their healing ; but to carry peaceably and charitably.

[It goes on to a considerable length, but has nothing that is not quite familiar.]

Kind of persons with whom they cannot have communion.

Who deny the Holy Scriptures to be a rule sufficient as to doctrine to be believed & duty to be done.

Who deny any Person of the Blessed Trinity : the doctrine thereof being such a foundation in all our Communion with God & serving of him.

Who deny God's electing some out of his free grace according to his good pleasure to Eternal life to the praise of his glorious grace ; or who deny the use means or method foreordained of God to the effecting this purpose.

Who deny the particular providence of God in ordering all things, or his peculiar providence about his Church in ordering all things for their good on the one hand ; or who would make the holy and righteous Lord to be the author & approver of sin on the other hand.

Who deny original sin as to the damning guilt & defiling filth thereof : its reigning (?) over all Adam's posterity who descend from him by ordinary generation, and its remaining in the Regenerate whilst in this life.

Who deny the Lord Jesus Christ in either of his natures or in any of his offices in whole or in part. Who deny his satisfaction or the sufficiency thereof, or the special design thereof to the Elect : or who would add to him in his priestly or prophetic or regal office, as if he were not a perfect mediator in each respect.

Special Grace—Effectual Calling—Justification—Sanctification—Perseverance of Saints—Assurance—Moral Law—Covenant of Grace.

Who deny Christian liberty, and would enslave our consciences to the doctrines and commandments of men in the matters of God : or who abuse gospel liberty to licentiousness.

Who deny that all instituted worship of God is to be regulated by his will revealed in his word ; or who deny any of Christ's Institutions, viz. Reading with Preaching, Prayer, singing of Psalms, assembling with the people of God, the ministry, the discipline of God's house, the seals of the Covenant, Baptism & the Lord's Supper, Catechising & Conference, the Christian Sabbath & other solemn days upon occasion, secret & family

worship : or who would confine the solemn worship of God to one place more than another, as if it were better accepted if it were offered up in such a place or directed such a way.

Who deny the Communion of Saints in the Universal Church, or in particular churches united in One head, the Lord Jesus Christ, &c., united by his spirit, professing faith in him and obedience to him, having communion with the Lord and with one another according to the gospel.

V.

[*Meditation on a projected removal.*]

I do in the presence of my Lord Jesus declare unto all to whom this writing shall come these my [*illegible*] thought and desires concerning my removal to Whalley, as followeth.

That being settled at Altham by a peculiar providence, owned by a gracious presence of God there to the conversion & edification of a few souls, and being maintained there by the power of God through much affliction, opposition & temptation, I now after ten years labour in that place do for divers reasons fear that my work as to that particular people is at an end ; & therefore only I do entertain thought of removal from thence ; yet do I purpose to try their affection in this matter as the Lord shall direct, before I remove.

That he will not remove without the consent of the people of Altham & unless they will attend his public ministry at Whalley.

That though there is cause to judge that Mr. Moor was not in mercy placed at Whalley, yet he shall be dealt with in a gospel manner to show him the ground there is to question his calling to the ministry, especially to that place, & to admonish him in the fear of God & love to him that he would leave the place ; which if he will not do, then that advantage will be taken and use made of the authority of the nation to remove him, we not being capable of process against him in Church way.

That I be not presented to Whalley under the notion of a vicar, & go to do the work of such a creature (?) ; but as the preacher or minister of the gospel there, & to do other work there as the Lord shall make them capable ; and that they be discouraged in hindering me of the liberty of my conscience, either in doing what I believe to be duty or not doing what they think I should do.

That no more salary be settled upon me than I have at Altham, lest I should give occasion to prejudice the gospel : this for the present : but if the authorities should think right that he should preach weekly at destitute places in the neighbourhood, they will no doubt increase his income.

That if he find himself not successful he will remove.

That the proposal did not originate with him.

No date.

[The confusion of first and third persons suggests that Fos. Hunter has partly copied, and partly summarised this document. The projected removal did not take effect.]

VI.

[Summary of a long letter by Mr. Jollie, in reply to some person who had enquired of him if it were lawful to join in the Common Prayer.]

He answers No :

Thinks it has a tendency to bring men back to Popery, as it has done many.

None ought to be in the ministry who have not the gift of Prayer.

No scripture authority for a Liturgy.

A translation from the Mass-book.

It explodes (? excludes) great part of Scripture.

Use of the Apocrypha.

More sacraments than two.

Supersitition—as Surplice, Altar, Bowing, Kneeling, Lent, Holy days.

Battalogies.

Establishing Popish points of doctrine.

Unseemliness, Irreverence, Want of Spirituality in the use of it.

Unlawful to join in it because imposed.

He answers arguments of his friend, who had studied in the Universities, for the use of it. His uncharitableness towards the Catholics very strikingly exhibited.

VII.

Is a transcript of a letter from Oliver Heywood to Thomas Jollie, respecting a supposed demoniac, Richard Dugdil of Surey in the parish of Whalley. Unfortunately there are so many lacunae, owing to the tattered state of the original, that it scarcely seems worth printing.

VIII.

Letter of Thomas Jollie

To my Reverend and Dear Brethren the dissenting ministers of the West Riding of Yorkshire.

The lamentable case of many of my poor people, of their families, also (?) the inability of the rest to contribute continually to their supply, doth necessitate me (though much regrets for so-troubling my friends) to certify their case to you, and to commend them to your charity. I do not mention their names, nor lay open their conditions in particular—The letter you have contributed—have always been willing to assist in such applications from without and so has he himself & his assistant in the ministry.

Dated Newchappel Jan. 13th 1698/9.

Indorsed, me (?) at Leeds April 9th 1699 : there was given at the Meeting-Place in Call Lane 10£ : at the Meeting Place upon the Miln Hill 20 shillings.

[A similar letter bears an endorsement by Oliver Heywood, to the effect that 20 shillings was collected at North Oworm.]

IX.

Was a poem by John Evans, on the death of Rev. Richard Frankland, dated 4th October, 1698. Hunter did not transcribe the poem ; but says that it contains these brief items of biographical information : Frankland was devoted to the ministry from his infancy, especially by his mother ; his three sons all died before him ; a widow, and more than one unmarried daughter, survived him.

X.

A proposal, seemingly of a Mr. Waddington, for a particular meeting of the Northern District to consider their state, previous to the General Meetings of the County to be held at Blackburn on 12th April, year not stated. Many friends in the Northern District have been taken away ; and the prospect is gloomy.

XI.

A brief account of the sad end of a backslider who died in utter despair. Not desirable for publication.

XII.

Narrative of persecutions suffered by T. Jollie from 1660 to 1679, which may be published hereafter.

XIII.

A brief account of the Proceedings of the Messengers of the Associated Churches in the adjacent parts of Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire.

First Meeting 7 of 5th month 1674. List of Queries propounded for consideration.

The persons present owned the Declaration of Faith and Order 12 of 8 Mo. 1658 at the Savoy as theirs.

Second Meeting 11 of 6 month. They considered the 2nd and 3rd queries concerning separation from the Abominations of the times : declare against Socinianism, Armimanism, and Antinomianism, to withdraw from the things and persons.

Third Meeting 6 of 8 month. Considered 5th query. Case of Mr. Moxon, pastor of a Church in Cheshire came into consideration, who dissents from the doctrine of the churches declared by

the said confession in certain points concerning the Satisfaction of Christ. The brethren Mr. Briscoe and Mr. Birch to confer with him. The case of Mr. Heywood and his people came to be considered of, who desire the right hand of fellowship and to join in this association. The result was that the church at Topcliffe and the church at Hopton be desired to choose out certain fit persons to confer with the said Mr. Oliver Heywood, and to inquire of his consent with us, not only in the Fundamentals of faith but in the Substantials of Church Order, and concerning such particular things as they think fit for further satisfaction in that case. An account thereof is expected at the next Meeting. They resolve that Mr. Jollie shall write to Dr. Owen for advice about petitioning the King.

[We have no further account of these meetings.]

There are 18 more pages of miscellaneous matter, difficult to read, but apparently in part worth examination.

The Conventicle Act in Operation

[The original of the following document is to be seen in the public museum at Portsmouth.]

Burrough of Portsmouth

A } Memorand that upon Sunday y^e
ffowerteeneth day | October in-
stant 1677 John Hickes of Ports-
mouth aforesaid | gent. was found by us Henry Beverley Esq^r
Mayo^r Samuell Williams | & St John Steventon gent. Justices
of the peace of y^e said Burrough | preaching & teaching in a
sedicious Conventicle or meeting held | at a certain place com-
only called the Golden ball being the house | of Robert Reynolds
of Portsmouth aforesaid Baker there being | Assembled and
met together above y^e number of five psons over | & besides
those of the same household every one of them being | above
the Age of sixteene yeares and subjects of this Realme | who
were there Assembled and mett together under p^r fence | of
Exercise of Religion in other manner then according to the
Liturgy and practice of the Church of England And contrary
| to the late Act of Parliament in that case made and p^rvided
| Intituled a Act to p^rvent & suppressse sedicious Convent-
icles | made in the two and Twentieth yeare of his Ma^{ties}
Raigne that | now is. Soe that the said Robert Reynolds
being on his owne | confession to us y^e Lawfull owner &
pprietor of the said house | wherein ye said Conventicle or
meeting was held is Convict | before us for that he wittingly
& willingly suffered the said | Conventicle & unlawfull
Assembly to be held in his said house | contrary to y^e said
Act of Parliam^t: wherefore we the said | Justices do impose
upon y^e said Robert Reynolds y^e s^ume of | Twenty pounds as
a ffyne for y^e said offence to be leaved on his | goods &
chattels according to y^e said Act *In Witnes* whereof we | have
hereunto set o^r Hands & seales according to y^e direcc^on of y^e
said | Act ye day & yeare first above written Anoqe Rni Rg
Car scdi nunc Angl &c | xxix^{no}.

H Beverley Mayor
Sa Williams
StJ Steventon

[The seals were on the left-hand margin.]

Endorsement

Wee the within named Henry Beverley Esq^r Mayor |
 Samuell Williams and St John Steventon gent. Justices | of the
 peace of the said Burrough doe according to the | direccon of
 the within named Act Intituled an Act | to p^rvent sedicious
 Conventicles Certifye the within | menconed Recorde and
 Conviccon unto his Ma^{ties} Sessions | of the peace held in and
 for the said Burrough the | Eighteenthth day of October in the
 nine and Twentieth yeare | of his Ma^{ties} Reigne and from that
 day adjourned to the | Sixth day of November next followeing
 as Witnes | o^r Hands the fower and Twentieth day of october
 Anno | Dmn 1677

H Beverley Mayor
 Sa Williams
 St. J. Steventon

Jeu d'Esprit of Dr. Doddridge

AMONG the MSS. that were sold at the recent dispersal of the library collected by the late Sir Charles Reed, F.S.A., was a memorandum book, entirely in the autograph of Dr. Doddridge, and consisting chiefly of a "Diary of Expenses, 1735 to 1739." But on one page are some humorous rhymes, which it is believed have been hitherto unpublished. They are unmistakeably in the doctor's hand, but lacking the neatness by which it is usually characterized; and what is more remarkable, there are half-a-dozen or more words misspelled, capitals scattered at random, and no punctuation. This is suggestive of an impromptu, hastily scribbled down, and never revised. The humour greatly resembles that of several well known letters addressed to Mrs. Doddridge. By the courtesy of the purchaser, Mr.

C. Higham, we are enabled to give the rhymes
verbatim et literatim.

On ye Dinner at Lyncomb

The Sultans by there Laws had* made
To practice some Mechanick Trade
Peter ye great ye mighty Czar
Hear Learnd to be ship carpenter }
And built himslef his men of war }
But w^t occasion is to roam
for Great Examples far from home.
Ladys at Bath bigen to be
Patrons of Arts and Industry,
Who'd think her Grace Like humble sinner
wear stewing Carp for her own dinner
Wilst Lady Betty neatly picking
Fitt for ye spit a pair of Chiken
one nicely basts a Joint of veal
another Cooks a Brace of Teal
& Thoss whose Talents rose no higher
put on coals and mend the Fire.
But all contributed their skill
With industry & great good will
Learn hence ye wretches who despise
The Fair you ought to Idolize
that Ladys tho they Live att Ease
are good for something when they pleas

* Evidently a mistake for "are."

Dr. John Stoughton the Elder

(Continued from page 107)

James Cudworth continues :

“ Now these plantations that are not yet seteled and are newly begun are three : Duckesbury, where Mr. Collyer dwells, no pastor nor teacher : ours Cittewate to whom the Lord has been very gracious and his guidance has been admorebly sene ouer beyinge to bringe us oure Pastor whom wee so long expected, Mr. Lathroye, whom the Lord has brought to us in foster, whom we find to be a holy, Reverat and heuenly-minded man ; and the other is Weard Come, where is no Pastor nor Teacher.

“ Now one thinge I wolde intreat you that if you doe knowe eny of your frendes and acquaince that come ouer hether you wold deverte them to our plantation the nature of the place being as in my former Letteres you shall finde and is still though I have some more of the plantationes than I had and it findes place in my affectiones before eny and with all such as you sall advise to set down with us we wold intreate you they may be such as you fudge to bee fite to be received into Church fellowshipe.

Allso if it should Please God to bring you into this Land amongst us I wold intreate you for youre owne good not to come ingaidged to eney people till you come heare yourselte and see the nature of the place where you are to site downe together with the conditions of the Peoples. One thing I cannot but Relate not only with grefe for and with fear of what will bee the event, of a strange thinge put in practice by the Church of Salem but by whome I heare not : and that is they have cut out the Crosse in the flag or Ansient that they Cari before them when they treyne. Indeed it is contrary to the mindes and willes of all that I can heare of. Captain Indicat there captaine is a holy, honest man and dus utterly abandon it and who are the Aageentes in it I cannot heare now.

As Conserning my owne partickuler I thanke the Lord I have wanted nothinge since I came into the Land. I have

(I), I blesse god, as yet the best house in the plantation : though but a meene one it contentes me well. I planted corne contrary to Mr. Hatherleyes mind, which I know not how I should a done. I bless the Lord, I have, I think, at least 50 bushesles of Corne which is worth 12 li. so that I think I shall not neade but shall have an aught till next harvest. My howse is the meetinge house because it is the biggest but we are but few as yet in number not pasinge 60 persons.

“As conserninge my unkele. Blessed be god they are both in good health and my unkele Thomas* is to bee married shortly to a widow that has good meanes and has five children. Thus much I make bold to trouble you withall beinge all for the present only desiringe to be remembered to all my Brotheres and sisters and all my frends, and my wife like wise desiers her duty to you both. Her love to the rest and I would pray whereas I wrote you for stufe for 2 Cotes it was roghly dun that you wold refrayne till you have of mine to pay youreselves with all † only I must intreate you to be miudfull the first Shipec that cumes to send my wife sunn Clothes for she looks her to Come the first of Aprill. So for the present I commend you to the protection of the Almighty and etc. etc. Rest youre dutyfull sunn till death, James Cudworth.

“To his very louing and kinde father, Dr. Stoughton at his house in Aldermanbury.”

The whole of the above is included among the Colonial State Papers, and is endorsed by the Government reader :

“James Cudworth to Dr. Stoughton shewing his great Correspondency with the Irregular fugitive Ministers beyond the Seas in New England.”

This letter, probably seized among Dr. Stoughton's papers at the time of his arrest, was used in the prosecution that followed.

John Rous in his diary records :

“1635. In October Doctor Stoughton of Aldermanbury in London, who had married Cudworth's widow of Emmanuel and had the same living given by the colledge in the West Country, from whence a carrier bringing some moneyes for his wive's children's portions he was traduced (as it seemeth)

* Thomas Stoughton. The other uncle was Israel Stoughton.

† It will be noted that the underscoring often indicates passages favourable to Stoughton's plea at his trial. The Court of High Commission erred rather in policy and in harshness than in perversity of verdict.

to be a favourer of New England and a collector of contributions for those ministers there etc. so that a pursevant was sent to the carrier and many halberd men for him etc. but within two or three days, re cognita, he returns with credit in the Earl of Holland's coach."

In truth the proceedings did not terminate so early or with so little trouble to White and Stoughton as Rous believed. The information that was laid against Stoughton and White is contained in Domestic State Paper, Vol. 406, 97.

"Nicholas Phill of Lydlindir, in the County of Dorset, being in the house of John Browne of Frampton in the said County Esquire (there being at the same time in the same house Mr. White and Mr. Benne, two divines of Dorchester, with other clergymen) the said Mr. Browne requested the said Phill to deliver to the said Dr. Stoughton of London 700 li., which was children's portions (as Mr. Browne then said) sent part from Dorsetshire and part from Devonshire. That the said Phill (having assumed to return 300 pounds of the said summes hath at several disbursements discharged the wholes summe Dr. Stoughton's receipt under his own hand will testify, which Charles Robson, Clerke, hath seene. That the said Dr. Stoughton seemed at the first a stranger to the affair and made scruple to set his hand to the receipt; that Dr. Stoughton's brother writt it, and the said Doctor in his study out of Phill's sight subscribed unto it, that the Doctor or his brother charged the said Phill to be careful of the Doctor's hand because it was to be returned back again to Dr. Stoughton the said Phil and one William Rummon will testify. That the said Dr. Stoughton having seemed at the first strange as aforesaid at the second or third disbursement told the said Phill that he was to have received 900 li. and that at his return hoamward he would send a letter by him to Mr. White of Dorchester. That the said Phill and Willya Rummon his neighbour going to make delivery of a second payment by the Inn were accidentally espied and called up by Charles Robson Clerk their friend and acquaintance, there being Dr. Shepsey then present with him. That the said Phill then and there laid down a bag of money and said that it was from Mr. Browne to a worthy man one Dr. Stoughton (and as the said Mr. Browne said children's portions). That thereupon the said Charles Robson considering divers passages by him heard from credible persons and especially remembering this one of of those Tenne voves which the said Mr. White proposed some six or seven years ago since to his communicantes,

namely that they should liberally administer to the necessity of the afflicted brethren at home or abroad as they should be called upon by their godliwise minister or to the like effect did by and by say ; " Doctor, this is part of the Puritan purse," and conceived this affair more to concerne Mr. White than Mr. Browne. That the said Phill and Rummon discoursing the circumstances more at large joined with the said Robson in the vehement suspicion thereof and said that in their consciences they did believe it. That the said Phill being a day or two after the said discourse with a kinsman of his, one Higdon of Lyon's Inn addicted (as the said Phill conceives) to Puritanisme and telling him what had passed in the presence of the said Robson the said Higdon first wondered what the said Robson should soe much trouble himself in the matter and there fell very foul upon the said Phill for twatlinge saying that there might be more in the consequence of this business than the said Phill knew of."

The document, which is endorsed " Dr. Sibsye and Mr. Robson's Informac. and Dr. Stoughton, White, Browne, et al.," has been the source of a trifling error in the account of Mr. White given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. There it is stated that the Court of High Commission rebuked the carrier for tale-bearing: tattling. It was not, indeed, the Court, but the justifiably " very foul " gentleman, who managed to reach the understanding and pierce the hide of the mischief-making carrier.

Mr. Browne of Frampton was, now or later, the father-in-law of Stoughton, who, after the death of his first wife, married Jane Browne of Frampton. Pedigrees of these Brownes are contained in Add. MSS. 5822, 5839.

An order for the arrest of Dr. Stoughton was proposed. Sir John Lambe wrote from Doctors' Commons to Laud upon October 18th, 1635, suggesting his grave doubts of the accuracy of Stoughton's statement that the 300 pounds he had received were for his step-children's portions. Certainly nothing in the lengthy letter of James Cudworth above-printed suggests directly that

ought was then his due from his step-father, but an inference may be drawn from reference to Walter Gamblynge and to sums to accrue to his, Cudworth's, account. Thomas Gambyln was one of the witnesses to the nuncupatory will of Ralph Cudworth, the father of James. It is very possible that mischance had deprived Walter Gamblyn of paying some sum, then about to be collected, "children's portions." But, on the other hand, in 1635 Ralph, younger brother of James, was of full age and there seems no reason why any person possessed of the moneys of Stoughton's step-children should have delayed settlement until the eldest had already been some years in America, and had himself married, in years presumably subsequent to his majority. The suggestion that Cudworth referred to sums accruing by reason of his mother's death is negatived by reason of his ignorance of that fact.

Sir John Lambe suggested to Laud that the messenger who was to go for Dr. Stoughton should seal up his study door, until the archbishop's further direction for search had been issued, and that like search should be made by the same messenger in Dorsetshire at the residences of White and Brown, who should also be arrested. This step was one, says Sir John, that he himself durst not direct.

"But let," he adds, "the messenger for Dorsetshire be sent away first, for, if Dr. Stoughton were touched here, present intelligence would be sent thither."

How quickly the intelligence was, indeed, conveyed, and how zealous the lukewarm displayed themselves in disavowing any undue intimacy with either Stoughton or White, can be gathered from a letter of Durie to Sir Thomas Roe, dated November 23rd, 1635. Since this letter was

written from Amsterdam, and dated after the Gregorian and not the Julian Calendar, the corresponding English date would be December 3rd.

In the course of previous correspondence, John Dury had recommended to the employment of Sir Thomas Roe one Samuel Hartlib. It was Hartlib who communicated to Amsterdam the news of Stoughton's danger. Dury writes to Roe that he has heard that Stoughton's study had been searched, and that among the papers was found a letter from Mr. White of Dorchester to commend Dury's work and to desire that the legacy of a Lady Barnardiston, left to be disposed upon the uses esteemed by White beneficial to piety, should be conferred upon Dury. This letter was plain evidence of introduction of Dury by White to Stoughton, and of relation between Dury and these, that might be interpreted either as one of complicity in projects commonly shared, or as one in which Dury, the recipient of bounty, played a facile role as parasite to those whose designs were distasteful to him. He has left us no room for doubt which construction of his character he considered the better calculated to vindicate his honour. He writes that he imagines that the archbishop "will be offended at his intimacy with such men as Stoughton and White, as if he had not dealt faithfully with him." But, if Dury were with the archbishop, he would say that from the beginning, he has haunted all sorts of men, and chiefly them that seemed most partial in their courses, labouring to gain them to favour his purpose, neither did he take notice of their particular humours, which he thought might be swallowed up in hope of peace.

The smug rascal, who had taken the money of Stoughton and of White, appears to forget that if at any moment he was bound to consider their

political or sectarian opinions, it was when he was pocketing their cash, and not in the day of their trial. At that hour, when any honest friend would have withheld the evidence needed to complete their ruin, when White was careful not to divulge aught that might injure Dury in the course of clearing himself, this peripatetic pedlar of eirenicons was base enough to equivocate and hint, in order to swell the suspicion that dwelt upon his friends.

He writes that Dr. Stoughton knew of his (Dury's) negotiation long before Dury knew him. This was indeed true. His powers of boredom had wearied a continent ; but he had never spoken to Stoughton more than five or six times. Concerning Mr. White, Dury says that when he had gone to Exeter, in February, 1633-4, on coming back, beside some others to whom he spake, he took in his way Mr. White, because he (Dury) had heard that White knew something of his project, the unification of European Protestantism, and because White bore the reputation of a man of action and godliness. As for the legacy, if they intended it to be without Dury's knowledge, he had cause to observe a providence in it.

To leave this unwholesome fellow, and to turn to the comparatively more pleasant topic of Dr. Stoughton's trial, it would appear that he was released in October. On November 12th he made appearance again before the Court of High Commission and took oath to answer articles. On the 26th of the month, application was made by his counsel for the restitution of some of his papers seized, and the Court directed that Sir John Lambe, Sir Nathaniel Brent and Dr. Worrall should peruse the documents and retain those they deemed necessary for the information of the Court. The proceedings dragged on until May

12th, 1636, when an order issued for the attendance of both White and Stoughton to hear the decision of the Court with regard to the sufficiency of their answers.

The questions addressed to White and his answers in the previous November had tended to exculpate him. S.P.D., Vol. CCCI, contains under date November 2nd the examination of John White, Clerk, person of S. Trinity in Dorchester, taken before Sir John Lambe, Dr. Gwynne and Dr. Aylett.

“Being shewn a letter dated Dorchester, 7 April, 1635, and directed to Dr. Stoughton he acknowledged the letter to be in his handwriting. The hundred pounds mentioned therein to be given by Mrs. Pitt by her will was bestowed, fifty pounds by Dr. Stoughton and fifty pounds by examinant as follows :—Thirty pounds sent to Mr. Patrickson of Wood St., London, Merchant, to be conveyed to Mr. Poleshee, curate of Egremont in Cumberland ; five pounds bestowed on Mr. Bray, sometime usher of the free school in Dorchester ; five pounds on a poor minister commended by Mrs. Pitt's mother, and ten pounds in examinant's hands unbestowed. Touching the other two hundred pounds he does not know how it was disposed of, nor who gave it. Ha has received divers other collections of money *in pios usus* for the particulars whereof he refers himself to his notes or books. Being shewn a paper book with loose papers therein, he says the book is his book of accounts, and the five papers therein are notes of other men's disbursements laid out for New England, which moneys respondent repaid. Touching a writing left with the registrar, he says that one side contains the purchase of the impropriation of the Rectory of Seaton for the use of the ministers of Dorchester and the other side projects of covenants to be observed by him and the other ministers of Dorchester in their callings and course of life but never put into execution.”

Subsequent to his acquittal Dr. Stoughton lived, so far as all indication goes, very placidly. He died in May, 1639, whilst preparing some of his sermons for publication. His will [69 Harvey] names his wife, Jane, and her father John Browne of Frampton in Dorsetshire, executors. Legacies

are bequeathed to his daughters Jane and Mary, and a contingent remainder to Emmanuel College. To Mr. Hartlipp,* a Dutchman, £25. To Mr. Janeway, twenty shillings. The will dated 4th May, 1639, was proved on the twentieth subsequent.

Of those others who are mentioned in this sketch of the life of Dr. Stoughton the ends may be briefly recorded.

James Cudworth, who is aptly described by William Harris in a letter of 1635 as a "pretty moderate man," had many children, most of them, if indeed, not all, recollected in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. iv, 2nd series. In 1638 there were granted to him, and to others, Seipican and lands there for the seating of a township for a congregation. Fear of the natives was the probable reason for the refusal of the grant. It may be noted that, whereas in South America, despite the atrocious cruelty exercised towards those natives of the country whom the European adventurers pillaged, genuine missionary fervour for their conversion was evidenced by the brutes who brought new savagery into the lands, in North America, save for attempts to deal with young captives, no desire to spread the tenets of their faith among the natives seems to have animated the Puritan settlers in early years. Zion was for them a city set upon a hill, not an empire whose bounds were limitless.

In 1652, a military discipline was established in Scituate, and James Cudworth became captain. In 1675 he was raised to the rank of general and Commander-in-Chief, despite an old prejudice which had arisen against him upon account of his tenderness towards the Quakers. He conducted the operations in the early part of the war against the Indian Philip, and of these skirmishes an

* Samuel Hartlib, afterwards the friend of Milton.

interesting account is contained in the Colonial State Papers for the year 1675. In 1682, the year of his death, he became deputy-governor, came to London as colonial agent, and here died, of small pox ; possibly in Jelley or Dibbles Alley in the parish of S. Bartholomew's, Exchange.

Elizabeth Cudworth, Stoughton's stepdaughter and ward, married a widower very considerably her senior, who outlived her.

The Reverend Josias Beecham, her husband, was for forty-seven years rector of Seaton in Rutlandshire. On 23rd August, 1627, he had married Mary Sheffield. She died during the life of Stoughton, who contracted his ward to Beacham in second marriage. Among their issue was Josias Beacham, who became Master of Arts at Clare, in 1662, and who, marrying Jane Munn, left also a son Josias, entered at Clare in 1688.

The first of the three of the name of Josias, the husband of Elizabeth Cudworth, died in 1674, and left a will dated 23rd May of that year. In it he mentions a surviving wife, Susannah, and daughters Elizabeth and Sarah Beacham. The testator had leaseholds at Shelford in Cambridge-shire. His surviving sons were: Josias, Daniel and Ralph. His married daughters included Martha Greene (probably then or afterwards of the town of Cambridge), Hannah Brian and Mary Fige, to whom reference will be made hereafter. The executors of the will [2 Dycer] are Ralph Cudworth, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, and his brother John, citizen of London.

Samuel Hartlib, afterwards the friend of Milton, is the subject of a notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. As I write, I have before me a curious pamphlet of 1648, entitled: *The Advice of W.P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib for The Advancement of Some Particular Parts of Learning.*

On the exterior is a contemporaneous inscription ; "Mr. Figes his booke." The pamphlet, which was probably the property of Hannah Fige above-mentioned, deals with a duplicator of writing, apparently of the nature of the pen commonly used by pawnbrokers at this day. The nature of this instrument is scarcely worth describing ; it can be easily viewed in operation at quite a trifling expense. The remainder of the pamphlet is concerned with the form of an ideal curriculum for schools. It proposed manual training for all its students, and extols drawing as of value in an educational course. Whilst thus modern, other of its suggestions, such as that of practical anatomy for schools, wherein the children would be set to the work of "excarnating bowells," are possibly such as could not yet be adopted by English educationists. The treatise has been somewhat neglected. It occupies a place of importance in the history of Pedagogy in England. The relation of Hartlib to Milton, and the express references of the latter to the former in the treatise on education, might render the republication of the 26 pages of W. P.'s pamphlet desirable.

Of persons of the name of Janeway two are mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Either of them may have been the Mr. Janeway who was a legatee of twenty shillings under the will of Stoughton. It is however, equally probable that this legatee is to be identified with one not mentioned in the *Dictionary*, Andrew Janeway, rector of All Hallows, London Wall, from 1593 to 1623.

J. C. WHITEBROOK

Early Nonconformist Academies

Kibworth

THE ejected minister of Hartley Waspil, Hants, Rev. John Jennings, gathered a church in this Leicestershire village, and ministered there until his death in 1701. He was succeeded by his eldest son, of the same name; who in 1715 commenced an Academy which lasted about seven years. We have no hint of any colleague or assistant; and in view of this fact, and the varied character of the curriculum, we are tempted to think that his learning must have been rather extensive than deep; while the further statement that the systematic study of theology commenced only in the sixth session (out of eight), suggests that the principal aim was rather the impartation of general knowledge than the training of candidates for the ministry. However, three of his students were assisted from the Presbyterian Fund. We have no available list of his pupils, nor even any statement of their number; and the Academy would have been almost forgotten but for the lustre shed upon it by one illustrious pupil, Philip Doddridge.

The account given by Doddridge of the course pursued at Kibworth has often been printed, but is worth reproducing here:

"The first half-year we read Geometry or Algebra thrice a week, Hebrew twice, Geography once, French once, Latin prose authors once, Classical Exercises once. Our Academical Exercises were translated from some of the Latin authors into English, or from English into Latin; many passages in the *Spectators* and *Tattlers*, both serious and humorous, were assigned to us upon these occasions. For Hebrew we read Bytliner's Grammar.

"The second half-year we ended Geometry and Algebra, which we read twice a week. We read Logic twice, Civil History once, French twice, Hebrew once, Latin poets once, Exercises once, Oratory once, Exercises of Reading and Delivery once. For Logic we just skimmed over Burgersdicius, and then entered on a system composed by Mr. Jennings.* We had a collection of excellent readings on the subject of every lecture, which frequently employed us in our closets for two or three hours, and we were obliged to give an account of the substance of these references at

our next lecture. For Civil History we read Puffendorf's *Introduction to the History of Europe*, with Crull's continuation. The Latin poets we made the most frequent use of were Virgil, Horace, and Terence; but we sometimes spent an hour on Lucretius, Juvenal, Plautus, Lucan, etc. Our Oratory was drawn up by Mr. Jennings, and made part of a volume of miscellanies which are now printed.* Our Exercises were principally orations, of which the materials were suggested either by Mr. Jennings himself or from some books to which we were referred. Bacon's *Essays* were often used on this occasion, and our exercises were a kind of comment upon some remarkable sentences they contained. We were often set to translate Tillotson into Sprat's style, and *vice versa*. On Tuesday nights we used to spend an hour in reading the Bible, sermons, or poems, purely to form ourselves to a just accent and pronunciation.

"The third half-year we read Mechanics, Hydrostatics, and Physics twice, Greek Poets once, History of England once, Anatomy once, Astronomy, Globes, and Chronology once, and had one Logical Disputation in a week. The Greek Poets which gave us the most employment were Theocritus, Homer, and Pindar. For the History of England we read Browne's, in two volumes; for Anatomy, a system of Mr. Eames's, in English, contracted in some places, and in others enlarged. We took in the collateral assistance of Nieuwentyt, Kiel, Cheselden, and Drake. Our logical disputations were in English, our thesis in Latin, and neither the one nor the other in a syllogistic form. One of the class made the thesis, each of the rest read an exercise, which was either in prose or in verse, in English or Latin, as we ourselves chose.

"The fourth half-year we read Pneumatology twice a week, the remainder of Physics and Miscellanies once, Jewish Antiquities twice. Our Pneumatology was drawn up by Mr. Jennings. This, with our Divinity, which was a continuation of it, was by far the most valuable part of our course.

"The fifth half-year we read Ethics thrice a week, Critics once, and had one Pneumatological Disputation. Our critical lectures were an abridgment of Mr. Jones's.

"The sixth half-year we read Divinity thrice a week, Christian Antiquities once, Miscellanies once, and had one homily of a Thursday night. For Christian Antiquities we read Sir Peter King's *Constitution of the Primitive Church*, with *The Original Draught* in answer to it. We consulted Bingham's *Origines Ecclesiasticæ* for illustration, and had recourse sometimes to *Suiceri Thesaurus*.

* The "system of logic" and "volume of miscellanies" mentioned under the second half-year were published in 1721 under the respective titles of *Logica* and *Miscellanea in Usum Juventutis Academicæ*. Among the Doddridge MSS. at New College are two volumes: One miscellaneous, partly in Jennings's hand, containing amongst other things brief summaries of 14 comedies, and several prologues and epilogues; the other, which looks like Jennings's hand, is a Latin treatise on Arithmetic and Algebra.

“The seventh half-year we read Divinity thrice a week, Ecclesiastical History once, and had one Theological Disputation.

“The last half-year we read Divinity once a week, History of Controversies once, and had one Theological Disputation. For the History of Controversies we read Spanheim’s *Elenchus*. The Miscellanies for this half-year contained a brief historical account of the ancient philosophy. On the art of preaching and pastoral care Mr. Jennings gave us very excellent advice, and some valuable hints on the head of Nonconformity. We preached this last half-year either at home or abroad, as occasion required, and towards the beginning of it were examined by a committee of neighbouring ministers, to whom that office was assigned at a preceding general meeting. Mr. Jennings never admitted any into his Academy till he had examined them as to their improvement in school learning, and capacity for entering on the course of studies which he proposed. He likewise insisted on satisfaction as to their moral character, and the marks of a serious disposition.

“The first two years of our course we read the Scriptures in the family from Hebrew, Greek, and French, into English. Every evening an account was taken of our private studies. We were obliged to talk Latin within some certain bounds of time and place. Every Lord’s-day evening Mr. Jennings used to send for some of us into the lecture-room, and discourse with each apart about inward religion. Mr. Jennings allowed us the free use of his library, which was divided into two parts. The first was common to all, the second was for the use of the seniors only, consisting principally of books of philosophy and polemical divinity, with which the juniors would have been confounded rather than edified. At our first entrance on each we had a lecture, in which Mr. Jennings gave us the general character of each book, and some hints as to the time and manner of perusing it. We had a fortnight’s vacation at Christmas, and six weeks at Whitsuntide.”†—See Doddridge’s *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 462. The following “cursus,” from an unpublished MS. at New College, will be seen to agree in substance with Doddridge’s account, but to differ in some details.

† It is right to remember that the usual age of students on entering was fifteen or sixteen.

Jennings's "Cursus Academicus."

Saturni

Veneris

Jovis

Mercurii

Martis

Lunae

Classis I

Post Logicam De Vere, Auctores Gallici, Praecipue Telemaque.

Geometria & Algebra

Hebrae Grammatica resoluenda: P. Bythneri Lyram: Sallustius, Terentius, vel Caesar legendus: Exercitia Statuenda. Grammatica Gallica & Dialogi ad finem ejus.

Drama

Grammatica Hebrae; Geographica; Exercitia examinanda

Mane

Vesperis

Classis II

Logica Johan Jennings

Hebrae Grammatica resoluenda extempore: Poetae Latinae, viz Virgil, Hor., Juv., Lucan, &c: Exercitia Examin.

Drama

Post Ehetoricam, Exercitia habenda.

Algebra et Geometria

Cicero: Historia Civilis Examinanda

Mane

Vesperis

Classis III

Miscellanea

Poetae Graeci: viz. Hom. Theoc. Pind. Anac. Sapp: Historia Angliae Examinanda

Drama

Disputatio Logica

Post Geometriam Mechanicam et Hydrostaticam: Physica Clerici.

Post Geometriam Mechanicam et Hydrostaticam, Physica Clerici.

Mane

Vesperis

Classis IV

Clerici Physica

Antiquitates Haebrorum

Drama

Post Anatomiam Pneumatologia

Antiquitates Haebrorum

Post Anatomiam Pneumatologia.

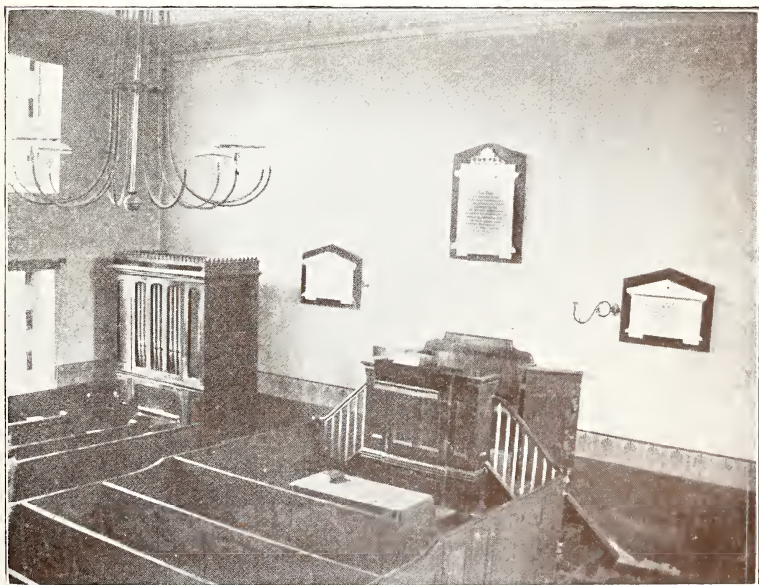
Post Astronomiam et de Globis Chronologia.

Mane

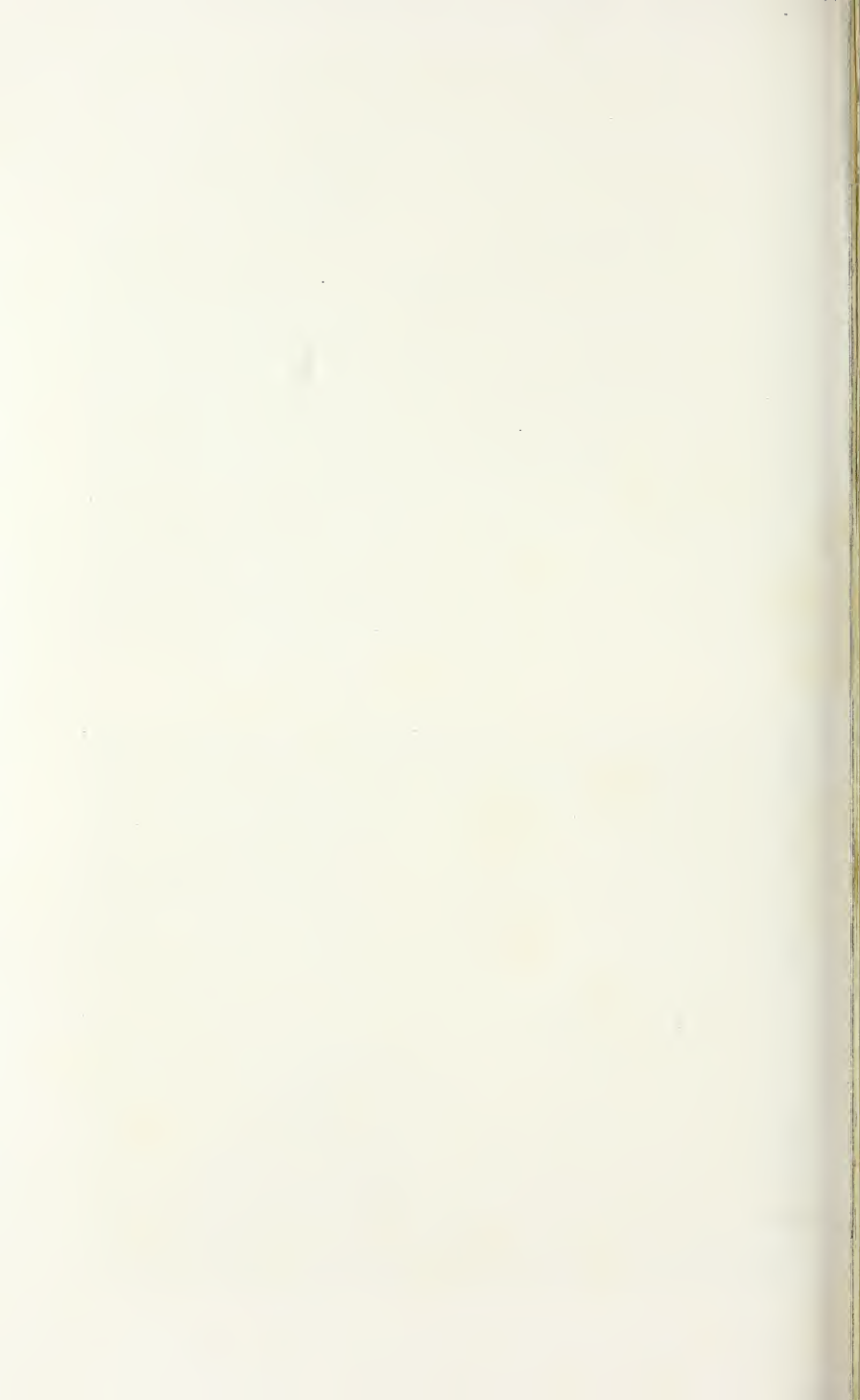
Vesperis

Lunae	Martis	Mercurii	Jovis	Veneris	Saturni
Pneumatologia et Ethica	Disputatio Pneumatologica	Pneumatologia et Ethica Drama	Classis V	Pneumatologia et Ethica	Lectiones Criticae
Post Antiquitates Christianos ex P. King, Lectiones de arte concionanda.	Theologia	Drama	Classis VI	Lectiones Criticae	Theologia
	Theologia	Historia Ecclesiastica Examinanda.	Classis VII	Disputatio Theologica	Theologia
	Theologia	Drama	Classis VIII	Disputatio Theologica	Disputatio Theologica

The Academy came to an end in 1722, when Jennings moved to Hinckley, where he died the following year. In addition to the Latin treatises mentioned above, he published *Two Discourses: (1) Of Preaching Christ: (2) Of Particular and Experimental Preaching*. This volume, with a preface by Dr. Watts, passed through at least four editions,



MANSE (FORMERLY ACADEMY HOUSE) AND CHAPEL AT KIBWORTH.



List of Clergy in Wales ejected by the "Propagators," 1649 fl.

(Gathered from Walker's "*Sufferings of the Clergy*," etc.)

R. indicates reinstatement after the Restoration. Several of the place-names we have been unable even conjecturally to identify; Modern Gazetteers and the Index Villaris give no aid.

NAMES	BENEFICES	Cause of Ejection
Brabant, Robt.	Monmouth	Malignancy
Bevans, Wm.	Lougher, Glam.	
Butler, John,	Penarth & Lavernack, Glam.	Inefficiency
Brooks, Richd.	Nowlton, Pem.	Pluralism
Clark, Wm.	Chepstow, Mon.	Drunkness & Malignancy
Clegge, John,	Llangibby, Mon.	Desertion to the King's forces; Inability to preach in Welsh
Cecil, Thos.	Llanbedr & Patrisho, Brec.	Drunkness & Malignancy
Collyer, Edwd.	Lampiter, Pem	Drunkness
Coulton, James,	St. Winnel's, Pem.	Malignancy
Dobbings, John,	Llangattock Vibon Avel, Mon.	Inefficiency, & using BCP.
David, Lewis,	Skenfreth, Mon.	Do. Do.
Evans, David,	Llandyfriog, Card.	Scandal & Simony
Evans, Griffith,	Llanrhysted, Card.	Drunkness Simony and keeping an Alehouse.
Evans, Morgan,	"Llillue" ? Card.	Drunkness
Evans, Walter,	S. Clere & Llanboidy, Carn.	
Evans, William,	Merthyr, Carn.	Drunkness & Malignancy.
Evans, Jenkin,	St. George, Glam.	Drunkness & Inefficiency.
Elliot, Lewis,	Castlebeigh, Pem.	Drunkness.
Field, Playford,	Penhow, Mon.	Inefficiency, and reading BCP.
Fowkes, Lewis,	Trefaron, Card.	Drunkness and Incests.
Griffith, John,	Llanvihangel Talyllyn, Br.	Drunkness, and being in Arms against the Parliament.
Griffith, Rees,	"Morthery" ? Mothvey or Merthyr, Carn.	Inefficiency, Scandal, and Malignancy.
Griffith, William,	Llanigan & Llanbedrog, Carn.	
Griffith, William (2)	Llandeiniolen, Carn.	
R Gamage, Edward, M.A.	Rossilly & Llangennith, Glam.	Delinquency & Illegal Induction.

Gore, Hugh,	Oxwich & Nicholaston, Glam.	{ Delinquency, & refusing the Engagement.
Griffith, John,	"Llangerlath" ? Llangennith, Glam.	Malignancy, and Refusing the Engagement.
Griffith, Isaac,	Llangavelach, Glam.	Do. Do.
Griffith, Alexander,	Glasbury, Radnor.	Drunkness and Lasciviousness.
Harris, Walter,	Wolves Newton, Mon.	Drunkness & assisting HM.
Hughes, Michael,	Usk, Mon.	Drunkness, using B.C.P., &c.
Hughes, William,	"Bergaving," ? Abergavenny, Mon.	Drunkness & Illegal Induction.
Habberley, Richd. AM.	Talgarth, Brecon.	Swearing, Scandal, & Malignancy
Hatsley, Griffith, AM.	Aberystwyth, Brec.	Illegal Induction.
Herbert, Edward,	Nantcwnlle, Card.	{ Insufficiency, common Fornication, &c.
Hughes, William (2)	Llanarthey, Carm.	Drunkness & Malignancy.
R Houghton, William,	Ilston, Glam.	"Delinquency."
Hughes, Trevor,	Lowchurch, Pem.	Drunkness.
Jeffrys, —	"Malberre," Mon. [but there is no such place]	Malignancy & Drunkness.
Jones, John,	Llanfoist, Mon.	Drunkness.
Jones, Lewis,	"Lanthyschwe," ? Llanthwy-Skirrid :	Illegal Induction.
Jones, Rice,	Michaelstone Vedw, Mon.	Malignancy & utter insufficiency.
Jones, William,	Dingstow, Mon.	Drunkness; "An Ignorant Reader."
Jones, William, (2)	Maesminis, Brec.	
Jenkins, Morgan,	Abernant & Convil, Carm.	Drunkness & Malignancy.
Jones, Thomas,	Llangan, Carm.	Do. Do.
Jones, William (3)	Llanegwad, Carm.	{ Malignancy, & Refusing the Engagement.
Jones, Thomas (2)	St. Lawrence, Pembr.	Inefficiency.
Jones, William (4)	Cosheston, Pemb.	Malignancy.
King, John,	Freystrop, Pemb.	Inefficiency.
Lewis, Charles,	Llanlowell, Mon.	Drunkness.
Lewis, Morris,	Rhosdian, Card.	Insufficiency.
Lloyd, Morgan,	Llanllwchaiarn, Card.	Drunkness.
Lewis, Thomas,	Henllan Amgoed	
Lloyd, William,	Llanberis, Carn.	
Lloyd, Richard,	Manordivy, Pemb.	Malignancy.
Love, Edward,	"Tollberry," ? Talbenny	Malignancy.
Mapp, John,	"Landgome," ? Llangoven, Mon.	Drunkness.
Morris, Morgan,	"Wanstow," ? Wilston, Mon.	Drunkness and Insufficiency.
Meredith, William,	Silian, Card.	Drunkness, & using BCP.
Meredith, Rice,	"Llanveda," Card. [no such place]	{ Drunkness, and keeping a common Alehouse.
Morgan, Griffith,	Bangor & Henllan, Card.	{ Insufficiency, Drunkness, & Delinquency.
Mason, Edward,	Mathrey & Granstone, Pemb.	
Merrick, William,	"Llanicheth," ? Llanychaer, Pemb.	Keeping an Alehouse.

Miles, Henry,	Dinas, Pemb.	Inefficiency.
Morgan, Thomas,	Roche, Pemb.	Drunkness.
Mountfort, John,	Martelthwy, Pemb.	Drunkness.
Mellon, Henry,	Aberedwy & Llanvareth, Rad.	A common swear- er, and adherent of the King.
Onacre, Paul,	St. Florence, Pemb.	
Owen, Francis,	Hodgeston, Pemb.	Insufficiency.
Owen, George,	Bigelly, Pemb.	
Owen, John,	Rosmarket, Pemb.	Drunkness.
Owen, Hugh,	"Sinope," Radnor <small>[but no such place found]</small>	Scandal.
Price, Owen,	Llanfihangel Crucorney, Mon.	Malignancy & Drunkness.
Price, William,	Oldcastle, Mon.	Inefficiency, & using BCP.
Prichard, David,	Llanvihangel (which) Mon.	Malignancy & Drunkness.
Perrot, John,	Cathedine, Brec.	{ Swearing, Drunk- ness, & assisting HM.
Powell, Thos., AM,	Brecon, "	{ Adhering to HM & reading BCP.
Prichard, Roger,	St. Davids, Brecon	
Poitherech, Samuel,	Llanhamlech "	{ Drunkness. { Whoredom, & { Quarrelling.
Powell, Morris,	Bettws Bledrws, Card.	{ Keeping a common Alehouse, & using B.C.P.
Price, David,	Llanfihangel "Groysha" (?) y Croyddin, Card.	Drunkness.
Price, David (2)	Llanarth, Card.	Insufficiency, & using B.C.P.
Price, Evan,	Llangeitho, Card.	{ Drunkness, { Fornication & { using BCP.
Parry, John,	Kenarth, Carn.	
Phillips, Roger,	Llanvalteg, Carn.	
Price, Thomas,	Llandebie, Carn.	
Pritchard, George,	"Llansawye" ? Llansawel, Carn.	Scandal and Delinquency. { Insufficiency, { Malignity, and { refusing the { Engagement.
R Parry, George,	Llanmadoc, Glam.	
Pardue, Marmaduke	St. Davids, Pemb.	Drunkness.
Phillips, John,	Llandeloy & Llanhowell, Pemb.	Drunkness.
Price, John,	Fishguard, Pem.	Drunkness.
Phillips, John (2)	Diserth & Bettws, Rad.	Drunkness & Malignancy.
Price, Humphrey,	Bryngwyn, Rad.	Drunkness, Litigiousness, &c.
Rees, William,	Undy, Monm.	
Rogers, Owen,	"Landillogressens" ? Mon.	Drunkness & Malignancy.
Roberts, Humphrey,	Llansaintfraid, Card.	Drunkness & Insufficiency.
Roberts, John,	Aberporth, Card.	Do. Do.
Rees, John,	"Llangomer" ? Llangunnor Carn.	Insufficiency & Scandal.
Ruther, Henry,	Llanfihangel—"Yorroth" ? ar Arth, Carn.	Drunkness & Malignity.
Robin, Maurice,	Llanbeblig, Carn.	
Robinson, Hugh,	Caerhan, Carn.	
Robinson, Hugh (2)	Trevriew &c., Carn.	

Roberts, Edward,	Llangollen, Denbigh	Scandal & Negligence.
Rarree, Mark,	Llanstadwell, Pemb.	Pluralities.
Rees, Morgan,	Llandissili, Pemb.	Insufficiency.
Rees, Morgan, (2)	Morvil, Pemb.	
Rees, William, (2)	Llangolman with Llandillo, Pemb.	Insufficiency.
Roderick, Humphrey	Llanhowel, Pemb.	Insufficiency.
Rees, Roger,	Llanvalty, Pemb.	Plurality.
Swinglehurst, Richard	"Llanrael," ? Llanmaes, Glam.	Delinquency, and refusing the Engagement.
Thomas, William,	Itton, Mon.	
Thomas, Hopkin	Ystrad-gunlais, Brecon	
Thomas, James,	"Kanathwll" Brecon ; no such place ; ? Crickhowell or Kenoi	Drunkness & Simony.
Thomas, Oliver,	"Lamrenny" ? Llanvrynach, Pem.	Malignancy.
Vaughan, Thomas, AM.	Llansaintfraid, Brecon	Drunkness. Swearing. Incontinency, no preacher, in arms for the King.
Vaughan, John,	Llowes, Radnor	Drunkness
Vaughan, Richard	Llanthewy-Vach, Radnor	
Watkins, Aaron,	Llanellen, Monm.	Insufficiency, using BCP.
Watkins, —	Bassaleg, Monm.	Using BCP.
Williams, Edward	Gwernesney, Monm.	Tippling, Swearing, & using BCP.
Watkins, Andrew,	Penderin, Brecon	Illegal Induction.
Withams, Charles	"Broynlyssel" ? Bronllys, Br.	Delinquency.
Williams, David	"Cambduey" Brecon : ? Gwenddwr	Simony & Illegal Induction.
Williams, Richard, BD.	Llanthetty, Brec.	
Williams, William	Llanavanvawr, Brec.	Delinquency.
Wood, Jacob,	Llandevalley & Crickadam Br.	Assisting the King, praying publicly for his successors, Swearing & Drunkenness.
Wilson, John,	Portkerry & Barry, Glam.	Scandal & Delinquency.
Wynn, Rice	Castle Creynion, Mont.	
White, Nicholas,	St. Issels, Pemb.	Insufficiency.
Williams, David (2)	Ambleston, Pemb.	Drunkness.
Williams, Henry,	Carew, Pemb.	Drunkness.
Williams, Howell,	Llanrian, Pemb.	Drunkness.
Williams, Richard (2)	"Treffgwr" ? Tregarn, Pemb.	Insufficiency.
Williams, Philip	Roboston West, Pemb.	Malignancy.
Walter, Phineas	Whitton, Radnor.	

Total number of ejections in Wales in 1649-50, 136 ; of which *certainly* by the "Propagators," 121.

Summary of the reasons given for ejection :

Ejections for Drunkenness only	20
" " and Malignancy	12
" " and Insufficiency	5
" " and Assisting the King	2
" " and in Arms against Parlt.	1
" " Insufficiency, and Delinquency	1
" " and Simony	1
" " and various Vices*	7
" " and Illegal Induction	1
" " and using B.C.P.	1
Keeping Alehouses (two of them Drunken)	4
Ejections for Scandal	1
" and Simony	1
" Insufficiency, and Malignancy	1
" Swearing, and Malignancy	2
" and Delinquency	2
" and Negligence	1
" and Insufficiency	1
Ejections for Insufficiency (only)	11
" and using B.C.P.	6
" Malignancy, & refusing the Engagement	1
" and common Fornication	1
Ejected <i>only</i> (as reported) for using B.C.P.	1
Ejections for "Malignancy," <i>i.e.</i> active opposition to the Parliamentary cause :—	
For "Malignancy" only	7
" and Refusing the Engagement	3
" and utter Insufficiency	1
" Adhering to the King, and using B.C.P.	1
" A common Swearer and adherent of the King	1
Ejections for "Delinquency"	
" and Illegal Induction	1
" and refusing the Engagement	2

* Incest, Lasciviousness, Whoredom & quarreling, Fornication, Incontinence and Swearing, Swearing, Litigiousness.

198 List of Clergy in Wales ejected 1649 fl.

Desertion to the King's Forces, and inability to preach in Welsh	1
Tippling, Swearing, and using B.C.P.	1
Illegal Induction	3
" " and Simony	1
Pluralities	3

No cause specified by Walker 24

Of the 112 the cause of whose ejection is stated, 53 were drunkards, 13 were otherwise scandalous, and 20 were inefficient: 3 others were pluralists, 5 were illegally inducted.

Nonconformist Places of Worship Licensed under the Toleration Act 1688

IN the 1st year of the reign of William and Mary, 1688, it was considered that "some ease to scrupulous consciences in the Exercise of Religion might be an effectual means to unite their Majesties Protestant subjects in Interest and Affection," and an Act was passed exempting those Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties imposed by certain laws passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. A proviso was inserted in the Act for Dissenters who scrupled the baptizing of Infants.

1 Wm & Mary
C. 18.

1 Eliz. C. 2, s. 14
28 Eliz. C. 1
29 Eliz. C. 6

Dissenters meeting with the doors locked, barred, or bolted were not to receive any benefit from this Act, and the Act was not to extend to any Papist or Popish Recusant. No Congregation of Assembly for Religious Worship was allowed by the Act until the place of such meeting was certified to the Bishop of the Diocese, or to the Archdeacon of the Archdeaconry, or to the Justices at quarter sessions for the county, or place in which the meeting was to be held, and registered in the Bishop's or Archdeacon's court, or recorded at quarter sessions by the Clerk of the Peace.

No greater fee than sixpence was to be demanded for registration.

In the year 1852 an Act was passed requiring all subsequent certifications of Nonconformist meeting-places to be made to the Registrar General only; and also requiring every Diocesan Registrar, and Clerk of the Peace, to make returns to the Registrar General of all Nonconformist places licensed for public worship in England and Wales from the year 1688 to 29th June 1852.

These returns, so far as they were obtainable, are bound in separate volumes for Dioceses, Counties, and Boroughs, and are in the department of the Superintendent of Accounts and Buildings at Somerset House.

By permission of the Registrar General I was allowed to examine these registers, and to take extracts for literary purposes. I have also compiled a list of the registers for each Diocese, Archdeaconry, County and Borough, shewing the year of commencement, and the number of Nonconformist places licensed down to the year 1852.

16 Vict. Cap. 36.

200 Nonconformist Places of Worship Licensed

Returns were obtained from 27 Dioceses, 28 Archdeaconries, 53 Counties or County Divisions, and 70 Boroughs; total 178. Of these 32 commence before the year 1700, 90 between 1701 and 1800, 52 subsequently to 1800, and 4 are undated. Besides these there are 281 "nil" returns, a very large number of them from small and decayed boroughs, many of which have since been extinguished.

The following are the Diocesan and Archidiaconal Returns :

DIOCESE	ARCHDEACONRY	Year of Commencement	Places Licensed to 29 June 1852
Bath and Wells		1736	1549
" "	Taunton	1792	469
" "	Bath	—	2
" "	Wells	—	2
Canterbury		1791	1123
Carlisle		1739	432
Chester		1753	2075
Chichester		1719	268
"	Lewes	1690	708
Durham		1767	907
Ely		1724	745
"	Bedford	1740	463
"	Ely	1796	41
"	Huntingdon	1780	321
"	Sudbury	1702	882
Exeter		1738	2293
"	Barnstaple	1736	144
"	Cornwall	1798	404
"	Exeter	1844	16
"	Totness	1770	220
Gloucester & Bristol			
	At Gloucester	1724	1521
	At Bristol	1755	214
Hereford		1758	758
Lichfield		1751	1883
Lincoln		1740	2312
"	Nottingham	1813	292
London		1689	2426
	Commissary Court for } Essex and Herts	1780	882
Manchester		1848	28
Norwich		1752	4108
"	Suffolk	1837	44
Oxford		1731	857
"	Berks	1813	17
"	Bucks	1781	791

Oxford	Oxford	1693	29
Peterborough		1771	978
" "	Leicester	1779	743
" "	Northampton	1791	73
Ripon		1837	74
"	Craven	1845	21
"	Richmond	1810	152
"	Do. at Lancaster	1839	17
Rochester		1690	273
" "	Rochester	1795	101
" "	Pts. of Essex and Herts } (kept at Chelmsford) }	1785	90
" "	Pt. of Archdeaconry of S. } Albans (kept at Hitchin) }	1692	608
Salisbury		1742	1866
" "	Dorset	1815	129
Winchester		1702	1501
" "	Commissary Court of Surrey } (at Doctors Commons) }	1741 } 1703 }	867
Worcester		1806	852
York		1737	4750
Bangor		1740	527
Llandaff		1754	734
St. Asaph		1725	591
St. Davids		1812	257
" "	Brecon	1791	293

County Returns of Places Licensed at Quarter Sessions :

COUNTY	Year of Commencement	No. of Places	NOTES
Bedford	1715	41	Only 4 before 1730.
Berkshire	1771	59	
Buckingham	1791	23	
Cambridge	1699	103	Cambridge 58, Isle of Ely 45.
Chester	1689	683	
Cornwall	1745	34	
Cumberland	1696	48	Only one between 1710 & 1740.
Derby	1689	277	Only two between 1730 & 1760.
Devon	1689	383	
Dorset	1703	452	
Durham	1791	46	
Essex	1761	68	None between 1720 & 1760.
Gloucester	1089	190	
Hereford	1834	1	
Hertford	1689	130	
Huntingdon	None recorded		
Kent	1701	321	

202 Nonconformist Places of Worship Licensed

Lancaster	1688	921	
Leicester	1695	770	
Lincoln	{ 1714	{ Holland 34	} Only five before 1750.
	{ 1746	{ Kesteven 31	
		{ Lindsey 13	
Middlesex	1832	63	
Monmouth	1771	31	
Norfolk	None recorded		
Northants	1763	182	
Northumberland	1812	68	
Nottingham	1737	83	
Oxford	1709	62	
Rutland	1745	20	Only 2 before 1770.
Salop	1689	529	
Somerset	1689	1211	
Southampton	1689	24	Only 3 between 1690 and 1760
Stafford	1691	202	
Suffolk	1791	30	
Surrey	1792	84	
Sussex	1813	97	
Warwick	1689	225	
Westmoreland	1698	18	Only one between 1710 & 1750
Wiltshire	1784	27	
Worcestershire	1839	3	
York East Riding	1708	83	
" North Riding	1689	269	
" West Riding	1689	953	
Wales :			
Anglesey	None recorded		
Brecon	None recorded		
Cardigan	1746	70	Only 3 before 1760.
Carmarthen	1729	116	
Carnarvon	1839	2	
Denbigh	1764	5	
Flint	1758	2	
Glamorgan	1719	50	
Merioneth	1768	48	
Montgomery	1708	96	None between 1760 and 1780.
Pembroke	1781	118	
Radnor	1791	13	

Borough Returns of places licensed at Quarter Sessions :

BOROUGH	COUNTY	Date of Commencement.	No. of Places
Abingdon	Berks	1843	1
Bath	Som	1839	8
Bedford	Beds	No date	6

Berwick on Tweed	Northumbd	1800	9
Beverley	Yorks E	1821	3
Bideford	Devon	1693	14
Birmingham	Warwick	1843	10
Bolton	Lanc	1842	7
Boston	Linc	1739	3
Buckingham	Bucks	1786	4
Cambridge	Cambs	1837	3
Canterbury	Kent	1764	4
Chichester	Sussex	1790	2
Colchester	Essex	1707	14
		1823	
Coventry	Warw	1694	21
Dartmouth	Devon	1848	2
Deal	Kent	1804	3
Devizes	Wilts	1792	1
Doncaster	Yorks W	1740	1
Dover	Kent	1710	21
		1755	
Falmouth	Cornw	1837	1
Folkestone	Kent	1698	6
Gravesend	Kent	1851	1
Hastings	Sussex	1830	6
Helston	Cornw	1840	1
Hereford	Heref	1830	6
Hertford	Herts	1835	4
Hythe	Kent	1816	1
Kingston-upon-Hull	Yorks E	1788	18
Kendal	Westm	1780	6
Leeds	Yorks W	1703	69
Leicester	Leic	1696	1
		1791	12
Liverpool	Lanc	1839	9
London City	Midd	1791	9
Maidstone	Kent	1748	11
Newark-on-Trent	Notts	1800	6
Newbury	Berks	1696	7
Newcastle-under-Lyme	Staff	1689	22
Newcastle-on-Tyne	Northd	1807	11
Norwich	Norf	1689	47
Nottingham	Notts	1689	38
Oakhampton	Devon	1792	1
Oxford	Oxfd	1715	4
Penzance	Cornw	1850	1
Peterborough	Northants	1850	1
Plymouth	Devon	1812	19
Poole	Dorset	1705	19

204 Nonconformist Places of Worship Licensed

Portsmouth	Hants	1811	13
Reading	Berks	1838	4
Ripon, Liberty of	Yorks W	1791	1
Rye	Sussex	No date	4
St. Albans, Liberty of	Herts	1852	1
Sandwich	Kent	1840	2
Scarborough	Yorks N	1836	2
Shrewsbury	Salop	1720	21
Southwark	Surrey	1833	1
Stamford	Linc	1803	4
Tamworth	Warw	1794	6
Tenterden	Kent	1704	12
Tewkesbury	Glos	1777	8
Tiverton	Devon	1849	1
Torrington	Devon	1810	1
Totness	Devon	1832	1
Wallingford	Berks	1719	9
Walsall	Staff	1827	4
Wokingham	Berks	1706	1
Worcester	Worc	1689	6
York	Yorks	1689	7
Wales			
Carmarthen	Carm	1807	3
Haverfordwest	Pemb	1843	4

(Nil returns from 257 boroughs)

These returns, both civil and ecclesiastical, were subjected to careful analysis and summary; and the resulting statistics, being presented to the House of Commons, were ordered to be printed on 23rd February, 1853. Unfortunately they are so incomplete, both as to the periods they cover and the descriptions they contain, that while abounding in matters of local interest, they altogether fail to give a reliable view of the general progress of Nonconformity. The following is a condensed summary of the general results, so far as relates to the whole number of meeting-places, temporary and permanent, certified by the various denominations during the successive periods indicated:—

		1689-1700	1701-1750	1751-1800	1801-1852	Total	
Protestants, or Prot. Dissenters	Temporary	474	1054	3570	15557	20655	} 27233
	Permanent	22	43	593	5920	6578	
Not Specified	Temp.	1173	1321	1122	7587	11203	} 13950
	Perm.	38	44	228	2437	2747	
Presbyterian	Temp.	47	309	189	38	583	} 733
	Perm.	0	28	54	68	150	
Independents	Temp.	53	143	983	1244	2470	} 3939
	Perm.	0	3	230	1236	1469	

Baptists	Temp.	81	277	442	923	1723}	2724
"	Perm.	1	12	145	843	1001}	
Quakers	Temp.	212	329	79	37	657}	860
"	Perm.	114	10	39	40	203}	
Wesleyan & Ar- minian Methodists	Temp.	0	17	463	1386	1866}	3901
	Perm.	0	0	95	194	2035}	
Calvinistic Methodists	Temp.	0	0	0	18	18}	102
	Perm.	0	0	0	84	84}	
Roman Catholics	Temp.	0	0	66	52	118}	492
"	Perm.	0	0	149	225	374}	
Other Denom- inations	Temp.	3	12	26	483	524}	870
	Perm.	0	1	10	335	346}	
Total	Temp.	2043	3462	6996	27316	39817}	54804
"	Perm.	175	141	1542	13129	14987}	

The surprisingly large proportion of "Temporary" meeting-places reported may in part be accounted for by the fact that the Conventicle Act was not repealed till 1812; so that a prayer-meeting or Bible-class held in an uncertified house rendered all present liable to penalties. Indeed, several cases of persecution of this kind occurred in the early years of the 19th century. But the compilers of the statistical summary of the returns seem to have been actuated by a wish to belittle Nonconformity as far as possible; for they assigned to the class of "Temporary" buildings every place that was either wholly undescribed, or simply designated as a house, erection, part of a building, hall, premises, tabernacle, or preaching-house. It is admitted, in a note, that probably "many of these were meeting-houses, or permanent places of worship."

Although licences were first granted at quarter sessions in 1688, the sessions record of only one county, Lancashire, commences in 1688, and is continued regularly down to 1707, then there is a blank in the record between 1707 and 1745.

The sessions records of ten counties commence in 1689, and of five counties between 1689 and 1700. Many of the early county records appear to have been lost or destroyed, and there are great gaps of years both in the county and diocesan records.

There are no records of Nonconformist places licensed at quarter sessions for the counties of Huntingdon, Norfolk, Anglesey, and Brecon.

None of the Welsh registers commence before 1719, and those which exist contain comparatively few entries.

There are returns of places licensed at quarter sessions from sixty-eight borough towns, but most of them contain only a few entries. Ten of them commence before 1700.

Of the diocesan and archdeaconry registers, only four commence before 1700.

206 Nonconformist Places of Worship Licensed

London is the earliest, commencing in 1689, but the records are missing between August 1719 and January 1791.

The places licensed in the earliest records are mostly dwelling houses, and the names of the occupiers are usually given, but the denomination and name of person certifying are left out. Later entries contain the names of persons certifying, and frequently the minister's name is given as one of them.

The denomination is usually entered "Protestant Dissenters," but Quakers are distinguished from Protestant Dissenters. A few peculiar names are entered under the head of "Denomination," as "Unitas Fratrum," Free Grace Baptists, Armenians, Philadelphians, Huntingtonians, and The Children of Sion.* I found one entry of a synagogue being licensed for the Jews. It was at Cambridge in 1799, and was certified by Solomon Lyon, Parson, and six others.

From 1730 to 1742 the Quakers appear to have held great meetings in Shropshire during Easter week. At Ludlow, they had Ludlow Castle, by consent of Somerset Jones Esq., two Inns, the *Mitre* and *Coach and Horses*, at Whitchurch a barn, and at Bridgnorth the Guild Hall and Old Hall, all registered as places of religious worship "for the Easter week then ensuing."

In 1694 they registered a burying ground in Yorkshire as a place of religious worship. In the register of the Bishop of Ely there is a note in 1761 which states that Dr. Mason, fellow of Trinity College, went to the office and complained of the irregular way in which licences were granted to meeting-houses, and said he would write to the Bishop about the matter. He also desired a copy of the licence granted to John Farrow, a Methodist, for his house at Orwell. The result was that the registrar was forbidden to grant any more licences for meeting-houses without express orders from the Bishop. He was to send applicants to the quarter sessions, but as the granting of licences to Independents was a matter of compulsion by law, if they refused to go to quarter sessions, he was to grant licences to them as they desired.

No licences were granted by the Bishop between 1761 and 1781.

The Bishop's register commences in 1724 and the registrar appears to have been very liberal in granting licences at that time; for John Berry of Willingham, shoemaker and an Independent, certified and obtained licences for nine houses in that village in 1725, John Littlewood of Cambridge, a locksmith, also an Independent, certified and obtained a licence for a house in the same village in 1725, and in 1726 obtained licences for eight houses in the neighbourhood of Cambridge.

* There are between 60 and 70 of these "peculiar names," of which nearly half are alternative designations of the same classes of persons, and many others represent isolated, often eccentric, congregations.

The return for the borough of Bideford shews eleven places licensed between 1693 and 1732, but the denomination is not entered. The town clerk remarks that they are presumed to have been Independent, because no other denomination had been in the town prior to the coming of the Wesleyans in 1788, and that the Great Meeting-House opened in 1696, and still used by the Independents, had not been registered at quarter sessions.

In 1704 the house of Mary Curtis, Widow, Bideford, was licensed "for the exercise of Repetition." It was an old custom for Nonconformists to meet privately and have sermons repeated or read, for in 1633 a letter was addressed to Justices of the Peace complaining that Separatists meet in private houses "under pretence of repetition of sermons, and there keep conventicles and exercises of religion by law prohibited."

Philip Henry's house (and his outhousing) in Broad Oake is licensed in 1690. The mansion house of Sir Robert Duckenfield at Dukenfield, and the domestic chapel adjoining, are both licensed in 1695. His father was a colonel in the Parliamentary Army, and in 1655 was a commissioner for ejecting scandalous and insufficient ministers in Cheshire.

The Bear House at Abbenhall, Gloucestershire, was licensed for public worship in 1695. Bull and bear baiting were favourite old English Sunday sports until they were prohibited on that day by Act of James 1st in 1617. In 1590 two men forcibly took a bear from the bearkeeper at Taunton on a Saturday at midnight "and did by the space of three hours with dogges and other devices, and whips and wheelbarrows, bayt the said beare, and did not tye the said beare, but in this manner bayted him lose." So the Sunday sport was commenced early on that occasion.

In Lancashire, "The Hall called Hoghton Tower" belonging to Sir Charles Hoghton was licensed in 1703.

In Somersetshire, licences were granted for the church houses at Dulverton, Wedmore, and Kingsbury, in 1689. "The House called Pauls," at Taunton, licensed in 1689, is still called Paul's Meeting.

Warmstree House, Worcester, was licensed in 1689. This house may have been the property of Thomas Warmestry, Dean of Worcester, who died 1665. When Baxter was silenced he complained that Warmestry went purposely to his flock and preached "vehement, tedious invectives."

A place described as having been built by the inhabitants of Idle, Yorkshire, was licensed as a Nonconformist place of worship in 1689, but it was afterwards discovered that the building had previously been dedicated to the service of the Church of England. The licence was ordered to be given up to the Clerk of the Peace, and the congregation warned "that no Protestant Dissenters do hereafter presume to meet in the said Chapel."

I find in the extracts I have taken from these old registers that several of the names recorded as certifying, or occupying, the earliest places licensed for public worship are the names of ministers ejected or silenced in 1662.

J. NICHOL

Congregational Fund Board

The following is a verbatim transcript of the
Rules & Orders

relating to the Meetings of the Ministers and other Messengers of the Congregational Churches in London, for encouraging the Preaching of the Gospel in England and Wales, agreed upon heretofore, and now revised Febr^y 5th 1737/8.

I. Concerning the Members of this Society.

(1) That care be taken to send to the Churches which are able, in and about this City, to contribute to this Work; and in the Country also, if we can find any that are so happily disposed.

(2) That every Church who contributes by Yearly Collections to this Society shall be allow'd to send their Pastor or Pastors with one or two other Messengers to these Meetings, whose names shall be recorded.

(3) Any seven of those Persons met together at the time appointed shall be sufficient to begin upon business, provided there be among them two of the Ministers and two of the other Messengers.

(4) That the Chairman of these Meetings shall always be a Minister, and that he begin with Prayer to God for Direction and Blessing on their Proceedings.

(5) That those Persons who are present at the Prayer shall have their Business dispatch'd before any Motion be made by them that come after, except the Motion they make come in its proper order in going over the Countys.

(6) That the time of meeting to do Business shall be on the Monday next following the first Lord's day in every Month of the Year, (except there be an adjournment) and no oftener: and that the hours of Dispatch of Business be from ten o'clock in the Morning to Twelve.

(7) Whereas it has been the usual Custom to begin with the Students in February, and to proceed to the [Congregations and (*interlined*)] Ministers of the Countys in March or Aprill, and then in June to make an adjournment till October, it is now by Experience

found more convenient to begin what relates to the Students of the former Year in January, and afterwards proceed to consider the Congregations. At the Meetings in October, November & December any Cases relating to Ministers or Students may be consider'd as Occasion requires.

II. Concerning the Churches or Congregations and Ministers who desire any Distribution from this Board.

(1) That the Distribution to poor Ministers, Churches, or Congregations in this Country be begun and proceed according to the Countys in which they are, as they are ranged in an Alphabetical order: and that no particular Case be consider'd but in that order, without special necessity, till we have gone over all the Countys for that Year. But after this, any Case which has been omitted may be proposed without regarding that Order. Note that Wales is to be considered as a County under the Letter W.

(2) That no new Case of any Congregation shall be considered in a County till the old Cases in all the Countys have been consider'd. But if any of these Congregations have a new Minister that shall not hinder its Consideration in its usual Course.

(3) That nothing be allow'd to any Minister, though he be Congregational in his Sentiments, till there has been Satisfaction given to this Board of his Abilitys for the Ministry and of his unblameable Conversation, and of his Approbation by the Church to which he is or was related before he came into the Ministry, if the Board requires it.

(4) That Satisfaction be given to this Board, if required, that all those to whom any Exhibitions are allowed are Sound in the Faith, particularly as to the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity as revealed in the Holy Scriptures and explain'd in the Assembly's Confession of Faith and Catechism, and that every Member of this Board has a right to desire this Satisfaction.

(5) That the Name and Character of every new Minister, who shall receive an Exhibition from this Board, be enter'd into the Book by writing the same day, and subscribed by the Person or Persons recommending him.

(6) That no Congregation have any allowance from this Board, till an account be given in writing of the Circumstances of the Minister, and of the Place, and what the People do or raise towards his maintenance.

(7) That no Minister or Congregation have more than £10 allow'd them from this Board for one Year.

(8) That if any Minister or Congregation have not received the whole allowance before Midsummer, and the Minister should dye or remove before that time, it shall lye entirely at the Discretion of this Board to dispose of one half of that Exhibition.

III. Concerning Students.

(1) That no Person be taken under the Care of this Board in order to his Education for the Ministry, till the Board is satisfy'd as to his Sobriety and Religious Disposition, his Grammar Learning,* his fitness for Academical Studys, and other abilitys of Body and Mind that may give encouragement and hope of his Usefulness: and that this character be given of him in writing before any allowance be made. [& ordered that on any Person being proposed to be admitted as a Stud^t a Comitee be appointed to converse with or enquire after such Person, & make a Report in Writing to y^e Board at their next Meeting. (*Added 6. Nov^r 1758.*)]

(2) That no Student shall be allow'd more than £16 P Ann. from this Board towards his Tuition and his maintenance in London; nor more than £12 P Ann. in the Country, or £8 P Ann. in Wales; and this only where the necessitys of the Person require it. [N.B. An Advance of £2 more to the Stud^{ts} in London, ordered 8 April 1745]†

(3) That as the Students already under the Care of this Board are consider'd in the Months of January and February, so after this Year New Students shall be admitted usually in the Months of May or June only, which will best comport with their regular Learning and Improvement, since the Tutors begin their Lectures on the Sciences in August or September.

If upon extraordinary Occasion any Student shall be proposed at any other time, it shall be left intirely to the Discretion of the Board.

(4) That none of our Tutors in London or the Country shall take Persons under their Instruction upon presumption they will be accepted at this Board, before they have sent us a sufficient Character of them, and the Board has declared their actual Approbation.

(5) That the number of Students that this Board will be concern'd to Educate shall not exceed Twenty-five Persons at most at the same time.

(6) That when any Student is taken under the Care of this Board, the Person who recommended him shall acquaint him that he must be advised by this Board at his going forth into the Ministry, both when and where to be disposed of for Publick Service.

(7) That their Tutors once or twice a Year, at le[a]st make enquiry at the Houses where they dwell, into the Sobriety of their Behaviour, as well as what hours they keep, and when they go usually to worship, and whether they perform or attend Family Prayer, in order to make report to this Board.

* This phrase signifies ability to read Latin.

† Added at top of page.

(8) That all the Students, both in Town and Country, be ready for a Yearly Examination as to their Improvement in human Learning and the knowledge of Divinity, whensoever this Board shall require it and give timely notice ; and that the Tutors both in the City and Country shall yearly give a strict and faithfull Account in Writing, of the Behaviour, Attendance on Lectures, and Improvement of their Pupils, before the Exhibition for the next year is appointed them.

(9) That no Student have any Exhibition for any Quarter of a Year in which he has not attended at le[a]st six weeks on the Lectures of his Tutor (except at the two months of their Vacation) unless this Board approve or admit of his absence.

(10) That no Student in or near London Preach at all in publick without an Examination appointed by this Board, and satisfaction of his abilitys given to his Examiners ; nor in the Country without the approbation of his Tutor. But if it be very much desired in London that a Student who has nearly finished his Studys should Preach during the time of the Vacation of this Board, he must be first Examined and approved by his Tutor and two Ministers of this Board.

(11) When any Student in the Country goes out to Preach constantly, notice shall be given by the Tutor to this Board, that he may receive their Direction, after he has approved himself to the Examination of his Tutor and two neighbouring Ministers in the Country.

(12) That no Student who has not behaved himself well to the Satisfaction of this Board during their Care of him for four Years, or has not approved himself as qualify'd to Preach the Gospell by the Examination appointed, shall have the £5 which has been usually given towards the buying of Books under the Direction of some Minister of this Board. But the whole of this matter shall be determined by the Discretion of this Board in every case, both as to the sum given and the Person to receive it.

IV. Concerning these Rules.

(1) That these Rules and Orders be read over Yearly at the Board on the Monday when we meet in January, before any Students or Congregations be consider'd.

(2) That every Tutor have a Copy of these Rules which relate to the Students, and that he read them once a Year at least to all his Pupils under the Care of this Board : But that he reserve the Copy only to himself, and never suffer it to be transcribed.

Additions to the above Rules.

6 November 1758. It was agreed that the following addition be made to the first general Rule concerning Students, viz :

That on any Person's being proposed to be admitted as a Student, a Committee be appointed to converse with or enquire after such Person, and make a Report in Writing to the Board at their next Meeting.

3 January 1763. Ordered that for the future the Students pass their Trials in their last year at such times as y^e Tutors request, with the Approbation of the Board.

2 January 1764. That no Student under y^e Care of this Board at the Academy at Mile-end be allow'd to preach publicly before he has passed a Examination, which Examination is to be six months before he finishes his Studies.

3 February 1777. Agreed that no Exhibition be granted unless a Gentlemen present can speak to the Case to the Satisfaction of the Board.

4 October 1784. That the Students at Homerton under ye care of this Board be permitted to preach publicly during y^e last year of their Studies, with the Approbation of their Tutor.

A Malicious Lampoon

The following is a verbatim reprint of the greater part of a scurrilous 8pp. tract printed in 1641, of which the British Museum pressmark is E. 172,31. It is quite the most offensive thing of the kind which we have seen, and bears no indication of place or printer. Some of the statements *may* be founded on facts reported at third hand ; or the whole may be pure fabrication. The story with which the tract ends is merely farcical, and is quite unworthy of reproduction.

Title :

A TRVE | RELATION | OF A | Company of Brownists,
| Separatists, and Non- | Conformists, | *In Monmouthshire in*
Wales. | With the manner of their Doctrine, Christ- | nings,
Weddings, and Burialls. | *TOGETHER* With a Relation of the
knavery that some of their | Teachers practised to enrich
themselves withall. | The truth whereof will be justified by
sundry people of good | quality inhabiting in the said
County. | By *Edward Harris* | Printed in the yeare 1641.

A Malicious Lampoon

“A True Relation” etc to “Wales”

In the County of Monmouth in Wales, in divers parts a number of Nonconformists being assembled together, not regarding in what place they meet, whether in field, garden, orchard, barne, kitchin, or highwaies, being (as they teach) as available to their devotion as the Church : where by their doctrine they perswade their auditory to contemne the prayers of the Church, and the Preachers of the Gospell ; also avowing their owne zealous prayers to have such power with God, as that they dare chaleng him *ex tempore*. By which leud

persuasion of theirs they have drawne divers honest mens wives in the night time to frequent their Assembles, and to become of most loose and wicked conversation, and likewise many chast Virgins to become harlots, and the mothers of bastards; holding it no sinne for a brother to lye with a brothers wife; as also a virgin gotten with childe by a brother not to be the worse, but by another, then by the wicked, and so consequently a sinner.

And first of Christenings. Which is that the Father shall bring his child to such of that sect as shall professe himselfe to be a minister, who shall take the child into his hands and wish the Father to name him, and being named, the Minister useth to cut the child in the eare untill it shall bleed, and then after (delivering the child to the Father) saith by such a name thatt child shall be called; in which action they use neither the sprinkling of water, signe of the crosse, Godfathers nor Godmothers, nor any of the prayers in the Common prayer book appointed to be used for that purpose; and they will allow of no churching of women by any meanes.

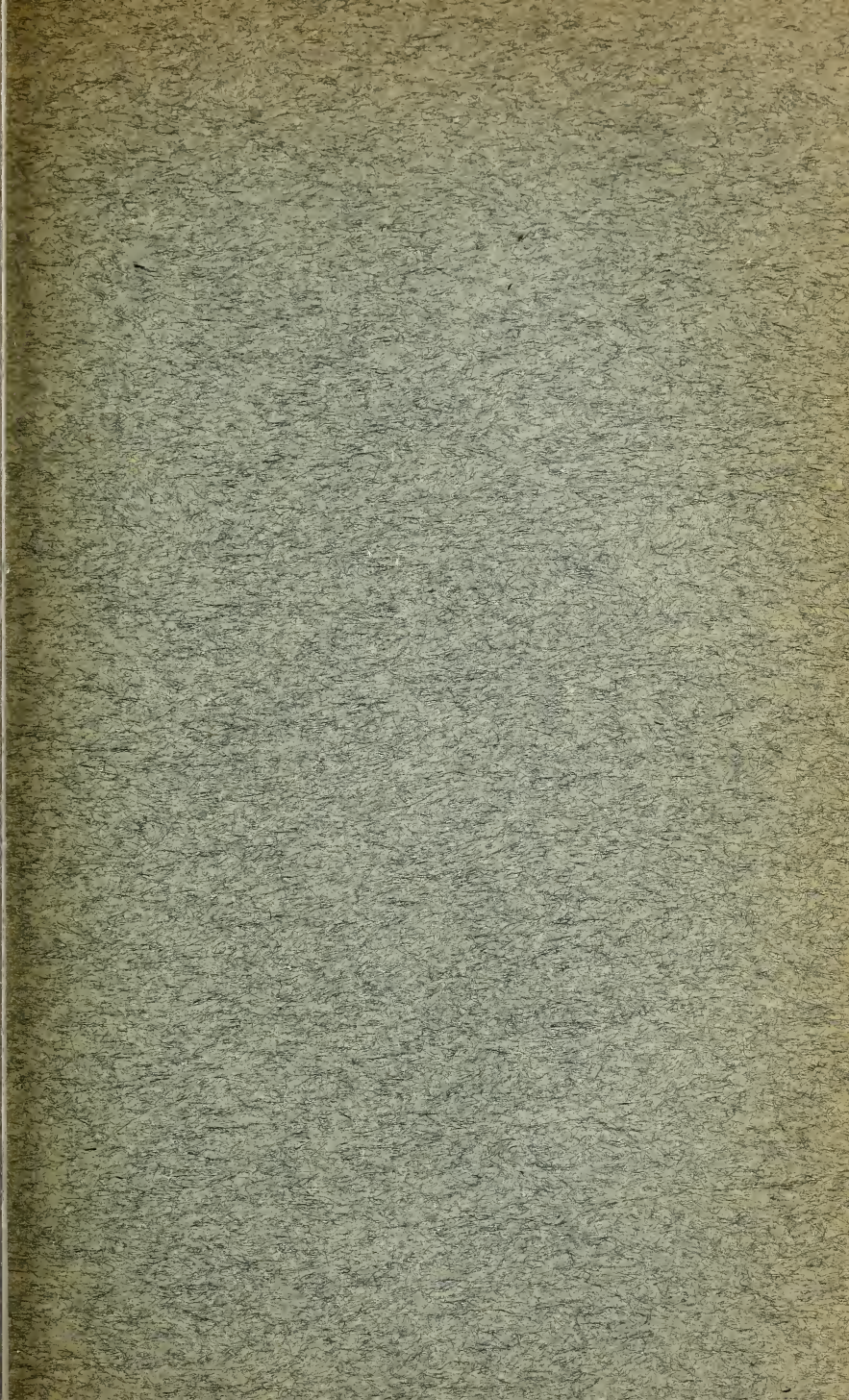
The manner of their Mariages Is, that he that taketh upon him the place of a Minister, shall ask the man that is to be married, if he will have such a maide or woman to be his wedded wife, who saying that he will, hee also usually asketh the woman that is to be married if that she will have that man to be her husband, who saying that she will; then their Minister will usually say goe together and multiply; in which action they never use the plighting of troth, ring, praiers, or ceremonies whatsoever.

Of Burialls. They wil allow of no praiers or ceremonies at all at the burying of the dead, but give directions that the body be throwne into a pit, much like a thing nothing worth: And being that these sects in all things are inclined to maintaine contradictions as is before said, touching the points of salvation, so will they in all other things; And (*inter alia*) command the dead to be laid in the ground a crosse the Church or Churchyard, or with their heads toward the East, but never with their feete Eastward, as the ancient custome was.

Of a Pavier (being one of the zealous Brothers, seeing one of the Pastors of that sect get 20£ under colour of cancelling of sins) that his owne practice in the like nature got 3 Cheeses and 9£ and by an accident escapt hanging in the earning thereof.

[The remainder is omitted, for the reason stated above.]







Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

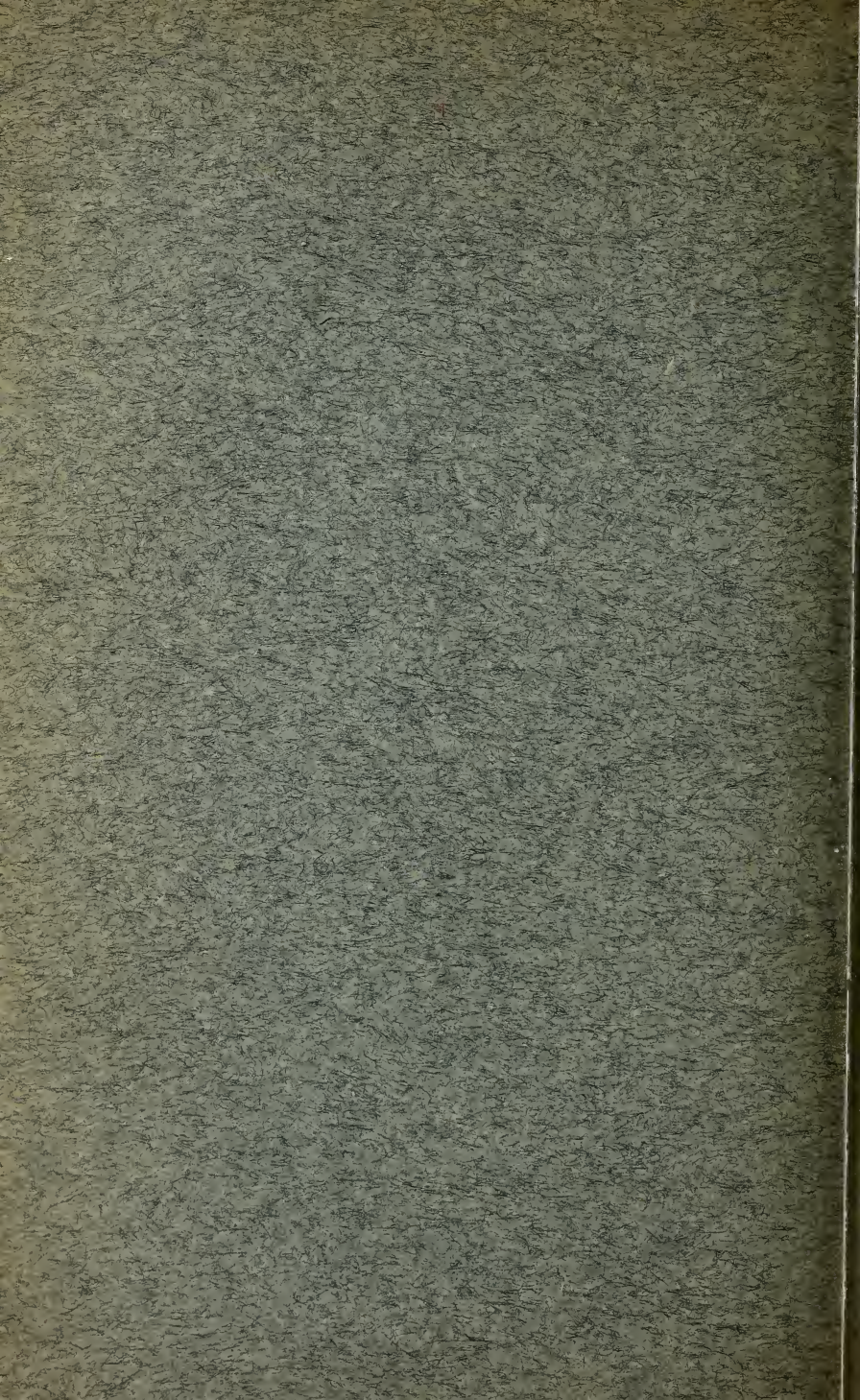
Vol. VI, No. 4]

[AUGUST, 1914

Contents

Editorial	-	-	-	-	217
Balance Sheet	-	-	-	-	220
Nonconformist Places of Worship Registered under the Toleration Act	-	-	-	-	221
Dr. W. T. Whitley					
Samuel Smith of Stannington	-	-	-	-	222
Calamy as a Biographer	-	-	-	-	233
Principal Alex. Gordon, M.A.					
Kinsfolk of Robert Browne in Cambridgeshire	-	-	-	-	248
Rev. A. C. Yorke					
A Rare Separatist Pamphlet	-	-	-	-	251
The "New Conformists"	-	-	-	-	265
Early Nonconformist Academies	-	-	-	-	272
List of Members	-	-	-	-	287

May be obtained direct from the Book Saloon, Congregational Union of
England and Wales, Inc., Memorial Hall, London, E.C.



DATE MICROFILMED

6 Aug. 1990

ITEM # 4

PROJECT and

G. S.

ROLL #

CALL #

Editorial

XL188-102 1696 483
#578

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held on 13th May, 1914, at the Memorial Hall, London. In the absence of the chairman, Dr. B. Nightingale, the Rev. Dr. John Brown, president, occupied the chair. The Rev. John Wood offered prayer and the minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed. The president and treasurer both referred to the lamented death of the Rev. C. S. Horne, M.A., M.P., one of the founders of the Society.

The honorary officers of the Society were re-elected for the year 1914-15.

The editor gave an account of interesting manuscripts in his possession, and also acquainted the meeting with the death of Mr. Watkinson of Herne Bay, who was publishing in the local press a very valuable series of papers on the Kent Congregational churches.

The treasurer gave a summary statement of the financial state of the Society, which allowed the publication of only two issues annually of the *Transactions*.

The paper by Principal Alex. Gordon on "Calamy as a Biographer," which appears in the present issue, was thoroughly enjoyed by the meeting. Mr. Gordon was very warmly thanked for his brilliant contribution on the motion of Prof. A. J. Grieve, seconded by Rev. J. J. Poynter of Oswestry.

The remainder of the meeting was occupied by a general and encouraging conversation on the proposal to hold an Historical Exhibition. The executive were invited to proceed with the task of organizing such an exhibition, and particularly to take steps to ascertain what historical objects suitable for exhibition existed in various parts of the country.

Dr. Brown was heartily thanked for his services in the chair.

* *

With a view to the projected Historical Exhibition the Council of our Society are desirous of ascertaining what objects of historic and antiquarian interest to Congregationalists exist in various parts of the country. They are not at this stage applying for a loan of any of these things; but our general secretary would be grateful for as full particulars as members and friends can give of any such

antiquities or relics as may exist in their respective neighbourhoods, together with the names and addresses of their owners or custodians. At the same time information as to the likelihood of a loan being granted, if applied for, would be helpful.

The objects we have in view are chiefly of these classes :

1. *Documents* : Early Church Covenants ; Certificates and Licences ; Church Records ; Autograph Letters, etc.
2. Baptismal Basins ; Communion Plate ; Communion Tokens ; Ancient Collecting Boxes, etc.
3. Personal Relics of past leaders and preachers ; Bibles and other books of personal and historic value, especially such as contain autographs.
4. Portraits, whether paintings or engravings ; views of ancient Meeting-Houses which have ceased to exist ; views of Churches and other places either directly associated with the history of our congregations, or with political and national events bearing on our fortunes.

The formation of a catalogue of such objects (even if nothing more were achieved) would be highly desirable ; but it is hoped that its compilation would lead to the assembling of many interesting and valuable objects for exhibition in London.

* * *

Our Autumnal meeting will be held in Bristol on 7th October. Arrangements are not yet sufficiently complete for a more detailed announcement.

* * *

We have just received an interesting pamphlet, by Mrs. Skinner, of Rayleigh (Essex), containing the story of Abraham Caley, the ejected minister of that parish. We hope in our next issue to give a brief account of this forgotten worthy ; meanwhile we commend "Caley of Rayleigh" to our readers, all the more as the proceeds of its sale are devoted to the erection of a Caley Memorial Hall in connection with the Congregational church in the village. The publishers are C. Fell & Son, 179 Great Dover Street, S.E., and the price is sixpence net.

* * *

We have several times referred to the so-called "canting names" which were in occasional use—though less frequently than is often supposed—in the seventeenth century. Mr. Fred. S. Thacker writes : "In the S.P.D. vol. for 1655, p. 588, the following appears : 'June 5. 1655. Pass issued to Firm-in-faith Knight, Mary Hewerton, & their 2 children, to Holland.' I do not remember seeing this particular Christian name before."

* * *

On p. 143 of the current volume of *Transactions* (ll. 12-14) it is stated that the Pitts meeting-house, Tiverton, appears to have been built for Rev. John Moore about 1707. In a serial called *The English Presbyterian*, no. vii, July 1834, p. 186, we find it stated that Mr. Moore was minister not of Pitts meeting, but of a small society which separated from the Steps congregation in 1700. His meeting house was in Peter Street, and ceased to be used for worship after his death. After serving as a "pound house" and a theatre, it was rebuilt in 1781 to serve as a Methodist chapel.

* *

Erratum in our last issue : On p. 214 delete line 11 from bottom.

Congregational Historical Society Balance Sheet for 1913

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
CREDIT.							
Jan. 1st. Balance at Bank ...	11	4	11				
Subscriptions including arrears ...	56	7	0				
Donations ...	2	7	0				
Sale of <i>Transactions</i> ...	1	15	9				
	<u>£71 14 8</u>						
DEBIT.							
Printing <i>Transactions</i> :							
Vol. V continued ...	1	12	6				
" VI, 1 ...	27	16	2				
" VII, 2 ...	22	9	6				
	<u>51 18 2</u>						
Reminders and Postage ...	1	3	7				
Notices of Meetings :							
May ...	0	16	2				
October ...	0	17	6				
	<u>0 13 8</u>						
Official Notepaper ...	0	17	6				
Hire of Council Room, Memorial Hall	1	1	0				
Subscription to Baptist Hist. Soc. ...	0	5	0				
Stamped Cheque ...	0	0	1				
	<u>1 13 8</u>						
Balance at Bank ...	56	19	0				
	14	15	8				
	<u>£71 14 8</u>						

Ledger examined with vouchers and certified correct,

April 16th, 1914.

B. D. W. GREGORY,

Nonconformist Places of Worship Registered under the Toleration Act

To the Editor, Congregational Historical Society

Sir,

Mr. Nichol's article is a welcome reminder of the official records awaiting adequate examination. May I add that they will amply repay it, and that the original documents in the Sessions Houses will often be made accessible freely. At Wakefield, Mr. Shipley of Sheffield has examined the West Riding books, and has reproduced many of the more striking entries in his *Baptists of Yorkshire*. At Preston I have, in concert with Dr. Nightingale, been through the original rolls down to 1720, and he has tabulated every entry; I have reproduced some of the notifications in *Baptists of North West England*. At Chester also I have made a more cursory examination, and have published a few results.

In 1829 the constables of townships were ordered to make returns of the number of places of worship for dissenters, and of the number of people frequenting them. This was an entirely independent census, and its results are well worth comparing. Whether they were ever printed I do not know, for I have been to the originals for my county, which are most minute. They take no notice of the point whether the places were registered or not. May I suggest that places were not "licensed" under the Toleration Act, as they were under the Indulgence of 1672; they were certified by householders to the clerk of the peace or the diocesan officials, who were then bound to enrol, having no discretion to refuse, as Mr. Nichol points out. The householder might have a copy of the enrolment if he chose, but this was not a licence.

After the printed return of 1853, another valuable return was made in July, 1882, of buildings registered under the Victorian Acts; it shews 14,573 buildings of the Established Church, 21,343 of various Free Churches.

W. T. WHITLEY.

Samuel Smith of Stannington

THERE is in the possession of Mr. R. E. Leader, of Thorndene, Oakleigh Park, a MS. volume, chiefly in the handwriting of Rev. Samuel Smith of Stannington, Yorks. (d. 1761.) Mr. Smith was born about the time of the Revolution, and spent his youth in the neighbourhood of Altham, Lanc. He became a member of the church at Sparth, in the parish of Clayton-le-Moors, about a mile and a half s.w. of Altham. A house there had been licensed under the Indulgence as a Presbyterian meeting-place; and later a Congregational church was organized there by Rev. Thomas Jollie, who ministered there as well as at Wymondhouses. He was succeeded in the dual pastorate by his nephew, John Jollie, junr. (son of John Jollie ejected from Norbury, Cheshire.) Young Samuel Smith appears to have profited by the ministry of John Jollie of Sparth, to have been a student under Timothy Jollie at Attercliffe (though his name is not found in the imperfect roll of Attercliffe students), and to have settled in 1713 at Stannington, where he ministered till his death, 48 years later. According to Evans's list, the Stannington congregation in 1718 numbered 350. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the church became Unitarian, and so continues. The MS. contains above twenty documents, many of them of little or no interest. There are private memoranda, some in Latin, others in shorthand; cash accounts; notes of sermons by various

preachers, etc. ; a treatise on Grammar in the form of a catechism, occupying 24 pp. ; and "Some short notes concerning Mr. John Jolly," 11 pp. This last refers to the ejected minister of Norbury ; but it is mere panegyric, affording no biographical facts which are not given in the Nonconformist Memorial. Five of the documents however seem of sufficient interest to deserve reproduction.

I. Minutes of two church meetings, held in 1700, apparently at Wymondhouses.

Upon a just survey of their present state, and a prudent prospect as to the future, the Lord's worthies of old have, when their departure hath been at hand especially, provided the best the(y) could accordingly : this hath been the practice of Pastors with their people, both under the old and new Testament, tho' our meanness every (?) in comparison be altogether unworthy to be mentioned with such extraordinary persons yet there seems to be somewt. of the like necessity in our case & a parity of reason as to our practice.

Besides the success of the Gospel among us, the comfortable continuance of y^e Pastor a little longer, & the success of endeavours for a necessary subsistence to his successor may much depend thereupon.

The consideration of these things hath moved us to consult together what is our duty in our present circumstances, and to conclude as follows :—

At a Church Meeting upon the 5th of the 2^d M. 1700 to enquire into the state of this Society it was unanimously conclude(d) by those present—

That we are under sensible visible cooling, declining as to spirituals (namely) in not attending the Church Meetings, or not sending our lawful excuse ; in not communing of the word & things of God as formerly ; in the want of public spiritedness for the good of all and zeal for the cause of God.

That it should be propounded to y^e rest of the Society to be considered whether it be not our way solemnly to renew our Repentance & our Covenant ; that the threatening tokens of divine displeasure as to the Pastor's distemper might be removed if the Lord see it good : that our Covenant & Communion may be confirmed & continued (God willing) however.

At a more full meeting afterward these things were accordingly propounded and assented to.

That which remains is our Agreement about the particular

Articles to be instanced in, wth reference to the Renewal of our Repentance & of our Covenant ; that this be thro' the Mediator of the New Covenant, his blood of atonement and prevailing Intercession, yea by the supply and Influence of his Spirit as our head ; that it be with a beleeving humble and thankful acknowledgment of his Grace who holds our soul in Life, that there be yet any Remainers of Spiritual life with us in the dead time, particularly as to Church State : and withal that we have such a ful(l) free reserve thereof with the Lord who—Jesus Christ—is the fountain of life. Now let Him so direct our work in truth that it may be an everlasting Covenant he makes with us.

1. As to the recovering of our first Love, the doing of our first works, as in the case of the Church of Ep[h]esus, the strengthening of what remains, the filling up of our works before God (not only as to matter but manner & measure) as in the case of the church of Sardis. That we may yet be revived and our days renewed as of old ; our shortcomings being made up, our backslidings being healed.

2. Our constant attendance at all meetings wherein we are concerned, unless we have such excuse as we can stand with before God, & our sending sufficient excuse in convenient time to the Pastor, or to the meeting in his absence ; yea, our being present in Spirit & pursuing the design of the meeting according to our capacity however ; y^t so the house of God may not be forsaken, either thro' our not attending, or not attention in the case.

3. Not only our meditating on but mutual conversing of the word of God, of y^e things of God, & our own experiences thereof for each other's edification ; that so whilst we speak often one to another, our blessed Lord may not only hearken to us but join with us and make our hearts burn with holy affections, as it was with the two disciples when conferring together, especially if we be upon the word of Christ or y^e Love of Christ as y^e most warming subjects.

4. As to our Love as Brethren in Ch : Relation exercising the graces and doing the dutys thereof in that spirit of Charity wth is the very soul of our communion, puts spiritual life and heat into all our performances : the want whereof makes us appear to be dead & unprofitable, w^tever our forme or name may be.

5. [*A blank space in the MS. equivalent to about 130 words.*]
In case of offence as to dealing with each other according to the rule of y^e Gospel, so plainly laid before us, y^t we neither divulge it to others nor sit down with the offence in the neglect of our duty, lest the offended party prove an offender also, & the scandal be further propagated ; lest also the Lord cast us off for not casting out the Achan if y^e neglect be general.

6. Our concernedness for the cause and Church of God in general, for the work of Reforming and healing in particular : that

we do not betray the common Interest and so our own true Interest withal ; yea, tho' we seem to be alone, as to standing in the breach wrestling for the blessing.

7. As to Catechizing & instructing our families by the best means we are capable of, yea, admonishing & exercising of discipline there according to our capacities, y^t so our Families may be little Churches & nurseries of piety ; All in the Lord & the Lord in all, as our Rule and end.

Any guilt upon any of us or among us in the aforesaid instances, either as to shortcoming or backsliding. especially if there be a walking contrary ; we do humbly confess to be much aggravated under our profession and priviledges, after we have been so afflicted and delivered also.

Concerning our failing in any of these things, or anything else that we are conscious to ourselves of, we do most seriously and solemnly profess our sincere repentance ; beseeching the Lord our God for his dear Son & great name's sake, to pardon the same hitherto, and help us henceforth. We do also, (thro' his grace) resolve and promise as in his presence & as we must give account to him, to reform all in our several capacities for the future, that so he may remove the tokens of his displeasure, and return to us in mercy, wherein he hath withdrawn himself : y^t he may continue us to be a people to himself in communion together, even when our Pastor shall be removed, & that our priviledges may be still continued to us, yea to ours also with a blessing.

But if we now take the name of God in vain, & if after all this (w^{ch} God forbid) we shall deal falsly in the Lord's Covenant, in not cleaving to the Lord & to each other in the Lord with purpose of heart both as to closer union & communion in the Spirit & order of the Gospel, we tremble to think what the woful consequences thereof will be, according to what we find denounced in threatenings & verified in Examples throughout the whole word of God.

Yet whilst we behold the severity of God on those who fel[1] thro' their unbelief, we should withal behold his goodness towards them who continue therein. So that we would take those encouraging exhorting words of the Prophet, as spoken to us also, amidst our godly jealousy, of our own infirmities, & our holy fear of God : viz. fear not (*i.e.* distrustfully, discouragingly,) tho' we have done all this evil, yet turn not aside from following the Lord (*i.e.* with another spirit & fully as Caleb and Joshua did), but serve the Lord with all your heart ; for the Lord will not forsake those who are indeed his people for his great names sake : because it hath pleased him to make you his people, but I will teach you the good & right way : only fear the Lord & serve him in Truth with all your heart, for consider how great things he hath done for you.

In the Name and Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ we, as a Church

of Christ, in the first place solemnly owning and standing to the faith & order of the Gospel professed among us ; we do also in the next place all of us unanimously testify our cordial consent, & faithfully covenant to all as aforesaid, by holding up our hands and saying Amen.

Signed wth the consent of the rest of y^e society by us
30th of 5th m :
1700

Tho : Jolly, <i>Pastor</i>	}	<i>Elders Elect.</i>
Robt. Whitaker		
Wm. Sellar		
John Holker	}	<i>Deacons Elect.</i>
Henry Chadwick		
Charles Ryley		
Tho : Haworth		

II. My Letter to Mr. J. J. as a return of thanks for lending me a book of De Laune's.

(This is immediately preceded, in the MS., by a summary of Delaune's "Plea for Nonconformists," which occupies 13 pages.)

Good S^r, I thank you for your sending me
De Laune his Plea for Non-Conformity.
Of late I've read some controversies held
Betwixt y^e Con. & Non.—which my head fil'd
With dubious thoughts of several kinds ;
I said, so many men so many minds.
I have of late talk'd with some Opponents
Which of their way gave me Intelligence.
But more I knew the worse I lik'd their way.
De Laune has made me like it worse, I say.
I see my cause is good to separate
From her that doth so much adulterate :
Nor is my Faith pin'd on an others sleeve,
Which to be safe I never can believe,
But on God's word, our only Rule of Faith,
Which perfect is, as holy David saith.
Humane Inventions are Vanity,
Therefore pleasing to God y^e cannot be.
Then for my only Rule I'le Bible take
A way that's pure & sure I'le not forsake.
March 27. 1708. Saml Smith.

III. A Short Confession of Faith, by S.S. (not dated ; probably 1708 or-9).

I believe in one God Almighty, maker of Heaven & Earth. I believe him in his Attributes to be God blessed for ever, holy just

& true, merciful & gracious, self-sufficient, eternal without beginning or end, Omniscient, Omnipresent, immutable, immortal, invisible &c. I believe y^e Trinity in one Essence.

I believe in Jesus Christ y^e only Son of God, y^t he is God & man & y^e Mediator between God & Man : y^t all power in Heaven & Earth is given him, & he is made Head over all things to his Church. I believe he came into the world to save sinners & to be an expiatory Sacrifice for Sin, he suffered not for his own sins, he knew no sin, but for y^e Sins of Mankind as ye Saviour of the world, & purchased a conditional gift of free pardon to all y^t will believingly accept it. I believe his Humiliation, as birth, sufferings, Death, & burial ; & his Exaltation, as his Resurrection & Ascension, y^t he sits at the right hand of God Almighty, & from thence he shall come again to judg the Quick & y^e Dead ; & then all penitent Believers shall be justified, but all impenitent wicked unbelievers shall be condemned.

I believe in the Holy Ghost, y^t he is God, y^e third person in the blessed Trinity, one in Essence with the Father & the Son. I believe y^t the Holy Ghost is the great Agent & advocate of Jesus Christ on Earth, by his works to be his witness, & to plead his cause, & to communicate his Grace : that the Holy Ghost was the Author of those many uncontrolled Miracles by w^{ch} the Gospel of Christ was sealed to y^e world, & y^t he was given by Christ to his Apostles & Evangelists, & y^t the Holy Scriptures, y^e old & new Testament commonly called ye Bible are the Word of God. I believe y^t it is the work of y^e Holy Ghost to Sanctifie all God's Elect.

I believe a Holy Catholick Church : that God has a holy Society in the world, gathered & sanctified by y^e Holy Ghost, separated from y^e unbelieving ungodly world. I own y^e Communion of Saints. I am for Pastoral Discipline. I believe y^t all true Christians, being united to Christ Jesus by his Spirit & by Faith, ought to be united to one another in love.

I believe the forgiveness of Sin ; tho' I cannot say positively y^t my sins are actually forgiven, yet I firmly believe that there is forgiveness for all sincere penitent Believers.

I believe the Resurrection of the Body, the Immortality of the soul : & Life everlasting for all those y^t have an interest in Christ Jesus & who make it their chief care & business to seek it.

Now having made a brief Confession of my Christian Faith, & being convinced of my wretchedness & miserableness, being grieved that I have sinned against such a God ; yet I have encouragement y^t if I will but return to him with all my heart I shall find mercy & acceptance with him in & through Christ Jesus. Wherefore renouncing the Devil, the World, & the flesh, & everything y^t stands in opposition to God, I do here take the Lord Jehovah, Father, Son, & Holy Ghost, for my portion & chief good ; & do hereby give up myself, body & soul, for his servant, promising

& vowing to serve him all y^e days of my Life. I desire to receive y^e Lord Jesus Christ as he is offered to me in the Gospell, & do here solemnly join my self in a Marriage Covenant to him, promising not to allow myself in any known Sin, nor in the neglect of any known Duty. I subscribe to all God's Laws as holy, just, & good, & solemnly take them for the Rule of my thoughts, words, & actions; & now having an earnest desire, (if it please God) to seal this my Covenant, together with my pious resolutions and engagements, at the Lord's Table.

IV. A Church Covenant.

Sparth, May 2nd 1708

We who thro' the exceeding Riches of the Grace & Patience of God do continue a Church of Christ, being now assembled in his Presence in the name of the Lord Jesus, after humble Confession of our manifold breaches of the Covenant before the Lord our God, & earnest supplication of Pardoning mercy thro' the blood of the Lamb, & deep acknowledgment of our great unworthiness to be own'd the Lord's Covenant People, also acknowledging our inability to keep Covenant with God; or to performe any Spiritual Duty unless the Lord Jesus do enable us thereto by his Spirit dwelling in us, and being awfully sensible that it is a dreadful thing for sinful dust and ashes personally to transact with the infinitely glorious Majesty of heaven & earth, we do in humble confidence of his gracious assistance & acceptance thro' Christ, each of us for ourselves & jointly as a Church of the living God one with another Covenant in manner following:—

We do give up ourselves to that God whose name alone is Jehovah, Father, Son, & Holy Ghost, the only true & living God, & to our blessed Lord Jesus Christ as our only Saviour, Prophet, Priest & King over our souls, and only Mediator of the Covenant of Grace; Promising (by the help of his Spirit & Grace) to cleave to God as our chief good, & to the Lord Jesus Christ by Faith & Gospel Obedience, as becomes his Covenant People for ever.

We do also give up our Offspring unto God in Jesus Christ, avouching the Lord to be our God & the God of our children, & ourselves with our children to be his People, humbly adoring the grace of God, that we and our Offspring with us may be the Lord's.

We do also give up ourselves one to another in the Lord, & according to the will of God, freely binding ourselves to walk together as a right order'd congregation & Church of Christ, in all the ways of his worship, according to the Rule of his holy word; promising in Brotherly Love to watch over one anothers Souls faithfully, & to submit ourselves unto the Discipline & Government of Christ in his Church; & duly to attend all the Ordinances

which Christ has Instituted in his Church, & commanded to be attended by his people according to the Order of y^e Gospel.

And whereas certain evils have been taken notice of as provoking to the Majesty of Heaven, for which the Lord has, & justly may continue a controversy against us, as an expedient to the Reformation of these evils, or whatsoever else has provoked the eyes of God's glory amongst us, we do freely promise as in the presence God :

First, that we will (Christ helping) endeavour every one of us to Reform our heart & life, by seeking to mortify all our sins, & labouring to walk more closely with God than ever yet we have done, and will continue to worship God in Public, Private, & Secret, & this without Formality or Hypocrisy, and more fully & faithfully than heretofore to discharge all Covenant Dutys one to another in Communion.

Secondly, we promise also to walk before God in our Houses with a perfect Heart, & that we will uphold the worship of God therein continually, according as he in his word requires, both in respect of Prayer & Reading the Scriptures, & we will do what in us lyes to bring up our Children for Christ ; & will therefore as need shall be Catechize, Exhort, & charge them to the fear of God, and endeavour to set an holy example before them, and be much in Prayer for their Conversion and Salvation.

And lastly we promise to keep our selves from the sins of the Times, & in our places to endeavour the Suppression thereof, & take care so to walk y^b we may not give occasion to others to sin or speak evil of our holy Profession.

Now that we may observe & keep this sacred Covenant, & all the branches of it inviolable for ever, we depend wholly on the Power of the Eternal Spirit of Grace, & on the free mercy of God & merit of Christ Jesus ; & where we shall fail there to wait upon the Lord Jesus for Pardon acceptance and healing for his names sake.

Signed in the Presence of y^e Holy Angels, & of God's People on Earth.

By

S.S.

V. A Short Scheme of necessary Studies in order, with choice books under each head ; by Mr. Wats of London.

I Languages

I Latin.

Cambridge Dictionary

Oxford Grammar

Kennet's Roman Antiquities

Echard's Roman History, 2 vols 8vo

- Virgil, Notis Manutii
 Horace, ejusdem
 Tullii opera omnia
 2 Greek. Scapulae Lexicon
 Busby's Greek Grammar
 Leusden's Greek Testament 8vo
 Leusden's Compendium
 Lee's [? Leigh's] Critica Sacra, folio with
 Septuagint [Supplement
 Potter's Antiquities, y^e best edition
 Homer's Iliads &c
 Isocrates & Demosthenes.
 Sylvenus on the first book of Homer.
 Xenophontos Cyropaedia
 3 Hebrew. Mercaeri Lexicon
 Bythner's Lyra
 Leusden's Compendium Veteris Test.
 Biblia Hæbraica Athiae
 Lee's [Leigh's] Criticks on the old Test.
 Goodwins Moses & Aaron.

II Geography

- Gordon, Geographical Grammar
 Denets (?) Four Quarters; & others

III Chronology

- Strauchey
 Helvetii Tabulae

IV History

- Collier's Dictionary & Supplement
 Ductor Historicus, 2 vols
 Baker's Chronicle
 Rushworth's Collections
 Echard's History of England.
 Chamberlayne, Angliae Notitiae
 Book of Martyrs, Abridged
 Monthly Mercurys.
 Turner, Providences

V Philosophy in General.

- Shawin? Lexicon, for the old
 Harries Dictionary, for the new.
 Wells' Arithmetic
 Pardie's Elements of Geometry
 Cartesii Opera
 Locke's Essay

Particularly

- 1 Logick. Ars Cogitandi
 Le Clerc's Logick
- 2 Ethicks. Puffendorf ; De jure Naturali et Gentium
 " De officio hominis et civis
 Baxters Reasons—the first part.
- 3 Physicks. Le Clerc's
 Gibson's Anatomy
 Boyle's Works, Epitomized
 Ray on Works of Creation
4. Divinity. Poole's, Latin and English.
 Clark on the Bible
 Cambridge Concordance
 Grotius, De Veritate Christianae Religionis
 Nicol's Conference with the Theist
 Oxford Bible with margin
 Calvin's Institutes.
 Turretini Opera, 4 vols
 Limborch do, folio
 Theses Sedanenses et Salmurienses.
 Amesius, Casus Conscientiae
5. Poetry. Cowley's Works
 Milton's Works
 Buchanans Works.

There can be little doubt that "Mr. Wats of London" was Isaac Watts, who in 1707 had published the first edition of his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*. How his "scheme of necessary studies" came into the hands of young Smith does not appear ; but it seems a reasonable conjecture that it may have been through the tutor, Timothy Jollie of Attercliffe ; of whose curriculum we have no record, but whose tutorial qualifications appear to have been slender (see *Transactions* iv. 334-5), and who may quite conceivably have sought advice from the popular young preacher and poet.

Note on Stannington Chapel

Stannington is a hamlet in the chapelry of Bradfield, four or five miles from Sheffield. A small chapel was built there about 1652,

it is supposed by Richard Spooone ; who by his will, proved 26th May, 1653, left a house and 15 acres of land to feoffees in trust to apply the proceeds towards the support of a "a preaching minister." Such minister was to be approved by a majority of the feoffees, or by "three of the next neighbouring ministers to the said town," for "honesty of life, soundness of doctrine, and diligence in preaching."

Isaac Darwent was minister from 1657 to 1662, when he was silenced by the Act of Uniformity. He retained possession of the chapel land till he was driven away by the Five Mile Act. From that time to the Revolution there were six or seven conforming ministers ; and between 1684 and 1689 a terrier of the glebe land belonging to Stannington chapel was exhibited at the archbishop's visitation. But after the Toleration Act the chapel seems to have reverted to Nonconformist management.

Abraham Dawson, who ministered from 1689 to 1696, made only partial use of the Book of Common Prayer. In 1696 Thomas Marriott gave an additional endowment of land to the chapel, and induced the feoffees to concede to him the right of nominating a minister. He nominated William Bagshaw, a student from Jollie's academy ; who was succeeded in 1713 by Samuel Smith. Both Bagshaw and Smith read parts of the Liturgy, administered baptisms according to the Prayer Book ritual, and reported them for insertion in the register of the chapelry of Bradfield. But in 1742 Mr. Marriott's nephew, with others, erected a new chapel a few yards from the old one (which was much out of repair), but on a site *not* forming part of the Spooone benefaction. The old chapel, being abandoned, soon fell to ruin and was cleared away. Thenceforward Mr. Smith entirely discontinued the use of the Prayer Book, and in reporting his baptisms noted that they were performed "according to the dissenting way."

Mr. Smith's successor, John Hall (1761-79) at first professed orthodoxy, but afterwards became Arian. On his removal the trustees wished to appoint another Arian minister ; but the congregation so strongly objected that they yielded, and appointed Josiah Rhodes from the Heckmondwike academy. After his removal in 1785 the feoffees appointed Edward Gibson, a Unitarian ; whereupon most of the congregation withdrew, some to the nearest Episcopal church, and some to Queen Street chapel, Sheffield. Since then all the ministers at Stannington have been Unitarian.

In 1825 an attempt was made to claim the Spooone endowment for the Established Church, but we believe without success. (See Sheffield Pamphlet of that date, "The Church of England and the Independents versus the Unitarians.")

Calamy as a Biographer

IN his article on Samuel Clarke (1599-1683), ejected from the living of St. Bene't Fink, Edmund Calamy (1671-1732) speaks thus of his works: "tho' it must be own'd they are not calculated for the Nice and Curious, yet this cannot be deny'd, that they have bin very Useful to Persons of a Middle Rank." Samuel Palmer (1741-1813), who discards Calamy's brief account of Clarke, substituting a much longer one, founded on Clarke's autobiography, nevertheless borrows from Calamy the judgment that his writings "have been very useful especially to persons of the middle rank." Whether the late Sir Leslie Stephen was a person of middle rank, I shall not offer to decide. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* he says: "Clarke was a learned and industrious writer, and his original biographies are frequently valuable. He takes as an appropriate name for a biographer the anagram 'Su[c]kall-Cream.'" I go further. Some may perhaps fancy I am partial to Clarke, seeing that he too had the honour of being a Warwickshire man. Indeed we were at the same Grammar School, and sat in the same curiously carved mediaeval stalls, though not in the same year. He entered when he was thirteen, I left when I was thirteen; so I suppose I preceded him.

Clarke's *Lives* (of which the English series alone (published between 1652 and 1683) extends to two quartos and three folios, devoted to divines and

laity, including some ladies, and often adorned with portraits) open to us, as no other collection does, a personal knowledge not only of the outer but of the interior man, both of the earlier and of the later Puritans. Many or most of his *Lives* had been separately published by their original authors. Clarke does not rewrite them, he contracts them ; but he is no mere abridger. His narratives are full and rich, he is a master of the art of that skilful and sparing reduction which loses none of the vital spirit, and omits no point material to the impression of character. To lay down a folio of Clarke and take up an octavo of the painstaking *Lives of the Puritans* (1813) by Benjamin Brook (1776-1848), is like passing from orchards and gardens to seek recreation in a paved quadrangle, with a string across, on which raiment hangs drying or dry.

Even greater is the contrast, when you compare Clarke with Calamy. Take one of the few cases in which Calamy refers to Clarke as his authority. Since Clarke is able to give to John Machin (1624-1664) thirteen-and-a-half folio pages, while Calamy can only find room for two small octavo ones, we expect exactly what we find, namely that Calamy furnishes the compressed statistics of Machin's career, followed by a general characterisation. Palmer here expands to two-and-a-third larger octavo pages, with Clarke's help. "He spent his youth," says Palmer, "in vanity and sin." This is mere moralising. What Clarke says is : "Being taken from school he was employed about Husbandry for some years, and followed some youthful recreations. In particular he was given to cockfights." There is the picture. Certainly in later life Machin, remonstrating with some who were addicted to the sport, explained that this particular recreation is vanity and sin, naïvely

adding: "I that have tryed both, find these the better waies."

Calamy's first experiment in biographical work was in connection with the autobiographical *Reliquiae* (1696) of Richard Baxter (1615-1691). This, though he withheld his name, he furnished with a Contents-table and an Index; though he did not redeem it from its far too numerous misprints. He had been assistant in the ministry to Matthew Sylvester (1636?-1708), Baxter's literary executor; and having with some difficulty obtained access to the manuscript, he decided that omissions were desirable. This, to Sylvester, was tampering with "a sort of a sacred thing." Calamy, with neat cleverness, began by pointing to Baxter's eulogy of Sylvester, and asking "how he could, with decency, let that stand . . . when he himself was to be the publisher." This broke the ice. Sylvester let Calamy pen the requisite modification, and by degrees and with much difficulty allowed the deletion of a dream of Baxter's, further particulars of his bodily disorders and medical treatment, some other things that were too mean, some few reflections on persons and families of distinction, and sundry reflections on Dr. John Owen (1616-1683). Of these latter the main reflection (on Owen's alleged hand in the deposition of Richard Cromwell) Sylvester would not expunge, unless disproof of the charge could be furnished by Madam Owen; who simply resented the application. The inclusion of this paragraph gave great offence. Baxter, I am convinced, was misled though Palmer seems to credit the charge. Disproof, sufficient to my mind, was given in the *Memoirs* (1721) of Owen's life, by John Asty (1672-1730), to which Calamy was one of the subscribers.

Calamy's work in this revision is a tribute to his tact, caution and persistency. It exemplifies a

policy of reticence which modern biography often carries very far. It also exhibits a leading characteristic of Calamy's own method as a biographer. His own title-page assures us that he is essentially an abridger. He came prominently before the public in 1702 with an *Abridgment* of Baxter's autobiography, continuing the story till Baxter's death. In this *Abridgment* we get Baxter's statements in the first person reduced to Calamy's language in the third ; so that little of the vivid savour of Baxter is left. Some of Baxter's finest thoughts are not represented at all. Yet Calamy's dumpy octavo was much more widely read than Sylvester's unmethodical folio (largely a mere morass), and the full charm of Baxter's self delineation (especially in the first part of the work) was hardly realised till the last century, first by Coleridge, then by Sir James Stephen, who introduced the book to Dean Stanley. Only four years ago a remarkable section of it, and that the finest, was admirably edited by Bishop Jayne (who reproduces, however, a curious misprint).

Whether he took the right way or no, it is clear that Calamy's repressions were actuated by a sensitiveness as regards the good repute of Baxter. This is proved by the shrewd and, indeed, sly pains with which he got a sight of the proofs of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, then (1702) in the press, that he might either soften or support Baxter, in case Clarendon at all clashed with him. To Oxford he went incognito, and, after some failures, got hold of a periwig-maker, of whom he enquired "whether he could find me out a workman . . . whose circumstances were low and strait, and who found it hard to provide for his wife and children, and to keep the wolf, as we say, from the door, that upon the prospect of a little good eating and drinking, and a piece of money in his

pocket, might be prevailed with to help me to the sight of the printed sheets of Lord Clarendon." The periwig-maker found him a Dutch compositor "whose straits were great"; this Dutchman, after some parley, brought him with great secrecy "some part of the copy, and all the sheets that were at that time printed off." Calamy saw, what of course he could not say, but what has been abundantly proved in modern times, that the original manuscript was interpolated and erased in several places. He also saw "no great difference in matters of fact between my Lord and Mr. Baxter." "My Dutchman," he adds, "seemed not ill-pleased with the entertainment I gave him, and with what I put into his hands at parting. And my booksellers, on acquainting them with what I had done, made no difficulty of reimbursing me. This passage, among several others in my life, convinced me that a silver key, rightly applied, would let into such things as people, at first view, were apt to think could not be come at."

After all, the most significant feature in this *Abridgment* was its augmentation. The part by the author most prized, and giving him most trouble, the section which worked up an ecclesiastical ferment that is not yet entirely subsided, was the famous *Chapter IX*, which fills 313 of the 700 pages, and deals with the Ejected Divines at large. Calamy's preface plainly shews that his main object in the publication was this *Chapter*. He had two reasons for it. First, to meet the aspersions cast, especially by Anthony Wood (1632-1695), on the *characters* of the Ejected. Secondly, to rectify ideas as to the *number* of the Ejected, minimised, as though amounting to no more than about five or six hundred, by such writers as Samuel Parker (1640-1688), afterwards James II's Bishop of Oxford and President of

Magdalen, the complacent soul who, asked "What was the best body of divinity?" replied "That which would help a man to keep a coach and six horses was certainly the best."

Calamy had an excuse for entering thus upon his combination of vindication and calculation, in the fact that Baxter, in his autobiography, had drawn out, very briefly and without biographical particulars, the characters of those of the Ejected whom he had personally known. He had done this in 1672, before the Indulgence of that year, and the actual number of characters touched by Baxter number 105, not to count mere names having nothing distinctive attached to them. This series Calamy proceeded to expand, in his memorable *Chapter IX*. He gives an interesting account of his materials.

First, as regards *numeration*. Not till his *Chapter* had passed the press was he able to gain access to the very rare *Exact Catalogue Of The Names of Several Ministers Lately Ejected out of their Livings In Several Counties of England, Because they could not Conform for Conscience sake. London. Printed in the Year, MDCLXIII*. This catalogue contains only the names of Ministers ejected in London and in the counties of Cumberland, Devon, Durham, Essex, Herts, Lancashire, Northumberland, Surrey, Westmorland, Wilts. It has the merit of distinguishing, in several of these counties, those ejected from sequestrations and those ejected under the Act. Calamy is not quite fair to it. He does not recognise that it is evidently the work of a Nonconformist doing his best. He complains that it gives merely the names of the Ejected for London and nine counties (in fact, ten), "but has not a word of all the rest, and yet bears the title of an *Exact Catalogue*." So it does, but an exact catalogue of "several ministers" in "several counties."

Calamy's own basis for ascertaining the number of the Ejected was a collation which he made of four manuscript lists ; one, by William Taylor (*d.* 1705 ?), son of an Ejected Minister (though Calamy thought otherwise) compiled while chaplain to Philip, Lord Wharton (1613-1696) ; two, received from an Ejected Minister, Roger Morrice, M.A. (1628-1702), the compilers not stated ; a fourth, "received from another hand." In making the collation he was assisted by information and advice, obtained from individuals orally or by letter, for "places with which they were best acquainted." He states that he "had not the curiosity" to add up the total of names, though he constantly speaks of two thousand as "mentioned from the first." The earliest actual calculation known to me is that of William Rastrick (*d.* 1752) whose *Index* was presented to Calamy (after 1727) and was used by Palmer. This makes the number 2257. Calamy's own volumes yield 2465 names, omitting duplicates, and counting the after-conformists. Palmer's volumes contain 2480 names, including only 230 after-conformists, but adding new entries, thus making 2250 stalwarts. It is now known that all these calculations are under the mark, every county that has been thoroughly searched yielding fresh names ; though those of the Ejected who, neither conforming nor resorting to other ways of living, maintained a Nonconformist ministry, were not more than 1800.

Passing, in the second place, from the calculation to the *vindication* of the Ejected, it is to be noted that Calamy does not depict them as without blemish, nor does he profess to supply in every instance a life-outline, or even a character-sketch. The Ejected Henry Sampson (1629 ?-1700) who became M.D. of Leyden, and ended his days as a Fellow (honorary) of the College of Physicians,

“ had taken much Pains in a Design of that Nature: but,” says Calamy, “ he lay’d a Plat-form that was too wide in Compass for any one Man’s Life.” Calamy had no access at this time (1702) to Sampson’s papers. He consulted printed lives and funeral sermons, obtained manuscript memoirs from “ divers Friends in City and Country,” and, like Baxter, drew upon his personal knowledge. Thus he was able to contribute particulars of 522 persons, the rest being merely names. In regard to the result of his labour, he frankly says: “ I desire no Man to rely on it any farther than as the best Account I could give, upon the best information I could obtain,” and further avows “ ’tis but a Specimen of what I intend, unless the better performance of others make my pains needless.”

The 1702 *Abridgment* was soon sold out, and made a great commotion. Its appearance, shortly after the death of William III, was interpreted as a challenge to the High Church views of Anne. There was talk of censuring it in Convocation. Calamy’s booksellers offered to give a purse of gold to anyone who would bring this about. Simultaneously, Charles Goodall (1642-1712), a lay physician, and John Walker (1674-1747), clergyman at Exeter, conceived the idea which was carried out a dozen years later in Walker’s *Attempt Towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy . . . in the late Times Of The Grand Rebellion* (1714). Walker’s motley list of names, including schoolmasters, tots up to 3334; but, following the computation of a previous writer, Thomas Long (1621-1707), he suspects that 10,000 would be nearer the full figure. Walker is always a truthful man, and usually an angry man; hence at the mercy of story-builders. No doubt he did honestly suspect that his sufferers were some 10,000 strong; just as he permits him-

self to suspect that all those of the Ejected, whose characters Calamy had not sketched, were bad characters. Meanwhile, pamphleteers and correspondents assailed Calamy and his "Dissenting Saints" in unmeasured language. Even relatives and friends of the said saints lost their tempers, if a proper name or a place-name had a letter amiss. Nothing was ever known to ruffle the equanimity of Calamy. He never forgets that he is a gentleman, a distinction which seldom seems to enter into Walker's self-consciousness. Sure of his own fairmindedness, Calamy records these objurgations with a quiet relish. "After all," says he, "I must freely own, I have met with as fair Quarter, as could well be expected." Whenever he addresses himself to the defence of his work, caution, candour, common sense, a facile pertinence and smooth retort are his arms of precision.

A second edition of his *Abridgement* (note the change of spelling) appeared in 1713. In this, the story of Nonconformity is continued beyond Baxter's death to 1711. *Chapter IX* is taken out. Enlarged to 845 pages, it forms a second volume with separate title: *An Account Of The Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges and Schoolmasters, Who Were Ejected or Silenced After The Restoration in 1660. By, or before, the Act for Uniformity.* By rights he should now have issued the *Abridgement* and the *Account* as separate publications. As it was, the two volumes did not sell. Prejudice was still rampant in ecclesiastical circles; public interest in the whole subject had dropped. Walker's promised *Examination* of Calamy never appeared. Calamy, ever ready to amend, accumulated materials for another edition of the *Account*, but no further edition was called for. Hence his supplementary matter, in itself of extreme value, was brought out in 1727 in the

worst possible form, namely as a series of Notes to the *Account*, and called a *Continuation* of it. This *Continuation* is divided into two slender volumes with one pagination. To help the sale, the second volume is padded with a reprint of Calamy's *The Church And The Dissenters Compar'd, as to Persecution* (1719)—this, which exposes the methods of Walker, needs reprinting to-day—and his *Remarks*, published for the first time, on the *Essay On The Thirty Nine Articles* (1715) by Thomas Bennet (1673-1728).

To return to the *Account*. Its arrangement as well as its substance shews improvement on the *Chapter*. The counties are now arranged alphabetically; in the *Chapter* they come anyhow, and you have to fish for the county you want, by help of the table of contents. Calamy had now the use of Sampson's papers, the idea of their separate publication being evidently abandoned; they are now lost—lost to sight and knowledge at any rate. Sampson helped him for most counties, particularly for Warwickshire; he, like Clarke, was one of my old schoolfellows. Calamy used also the manuscript *Icones Sacrae* by John Quick (1636-1706), now in Dr. Williams' Library; and had notes, covering the whole field, by Samuel Stancliff (1630-1705) and Richard Stretton (1632?-1712) of London, Joseph Hill (1625-1707) of Rotterdam, and William Taylor, then at Newbury; besides special correspondents for several counties, whom he names, and information sent by "even some clergymen of the Church of England." I note that most of Calamy's correspondents were nominal Presbyterians; the only exceptions known to me being Isaac Noble (*d.* 1727) of Bristol, and James Forbes (1630-1712) of Gloucester, pioneer of the Happy Union, whom he describes as "a strict Calvinist, and Congregational: But of a Catholick

Temper." I have not observed any reference to Baptist correspondence. Calamy's term is Anabaptist. He mentions, as at Bristol, "a Society of sober *Anabaptists*," and elsewhere says of Joshua Head: "an *Anabaptist*; but a worthy Man." One of his longer and most sympathetic biographies is that of Henry Jessey (1601-1663), but he does not allude to the circumstance that Jessey was a Baptist: an omission repaired by Palmer, whose account of Jessey departs widely from Calamy's.

No doubt Calamy had his prejudices; yet these facts exemplify rather his prudent sensitiveness to the prejudices of others, and his tactful turning of awkward corners. Though, as early as 1704, he had frankly acknowledged that his own ideal of ecclesiastical polity might be construed as "a meer *Independent Scheme*," yet he was now writing with intent to catch the eye, and influence the judgment of men to whom the term Independent was redolent of political associations, and in whom the name Anabaptist was still provocative of panic fears. Hence, in his biographies, he carefully avoids using the one, Congregational is his habitual term (though he does speak of a man who "was a *Presbyterian*, an *Independant*, every thing that prevail'd"), and takes occasion as has been seen, to qualify the other. "Sober" is a desirable and a Scriptural qualification; when Palmer turns Calamy's "sober *Anabaptists*" into "a society of moderate Baptists," I think he misses Calamy's point, and almost reminds us of the man who thought consistency was very well, in moderation. Calamy could find only one Socinian among the Ejected, and that was one more than he wished for. Of William Manning (1630?-1711) he says: "A Man of great Parts and Learning: But he fell into the *Socinian Principles*." Calamy's own *Thirteen Sermons* (1722) on the Trinity became a

leading authority with contemporary Presbyterians of Ireland, in regard to knotty points of that doctrine.

Unless we keep steadily before us the main purpose which directed and animated Calamy's biographical work, we shall fail to realise properly either his merits or his deficiencies. He has, especially in the *Continuation*, a certain number of biographies which are pretty full. His easy style does not readily lend itself to the practice of putting very much in small compass; it is leisurely, even when most pointed and graphic. He does sometimes bring a man so vividly before us that we say: This is a speaking likeness. He now and then records revealing traits of speech and action which go some way towards the making of a portrait. More often he is content with a mere epitome, rarely giving even a whole skeleton, often a few bones of a career, a spectre clothed with a dispassionate and somewhat conventional characterisation. Doubtless in many cases he had to contend with a lack of sources for more; but there were other contributing causes. Himself essentially a man of his own time, the period in which the Ejected flourished was already ancient history to him, with ancient manners. The little things that give life and colour to the delineation of human beings, he often thinks too trivial for his aim. Yet no man could have better furnished such. One would not expect to see reflected in his sketches either the heights or the deeps of spiritual experience that move us in the pages of Clarke. These things, perhaps, were even beyond Calamy's range; though he has said of Baxter the finest thing that was ever said of him: "He talked in the pulpit with great freedom about another world, like one that had been there, and was come as a sort of an express from thence to make a report concerning it."

This, however, is in his *Historical Account of My Own Life*, which remained unprinted till 1829, unindexed till 1830. He had written this autobiography with the greatest care; I have been privileged to explore three successive revisions of it, in his autograph. Here he does let himself go; every page is full of character, his gossip, never ill-natured, is always fresh and charming; and there was no foolish reticence about the man who, seated in view of a far-stretching landscape in the North of England, was impelled to remark that it "was a pleasant place for a pipe of tobacco and a glass of October"—to fetch which requisites a Tory lady, welcoming the cry of nature, immediately despatched her footman. Many an illuminating touch, not found in his *Account* or its sequel, improves our knowledge of some of the Ejected, as we see them, alive, in his *Own Life*. Take, for example, the details of his intercourse at Oxford with Thomas Gilbert (1613-1694), who, in the *Account*, is treated merely as a highly learned divine. "Though he appeared to be in his element when dealing with those crabbed writers, he would sometimes be very facetious and pleasant in conversation." Among much more about him: "He was very purblind . . . I have called upon him in an evening, and found him at supper upon a dish of buttered onions, on which he fed as savourily, as if he had been feasting the greatest dainties." One thinks of Whitefield, luxuriating on cow-heel; and on the other hand one recollects that boon Calamy, at "Winandermere," observed that this was the lake "so famous for the fish called charrs, which come potted to London, and are reckoned so very delicious." I was asked, the other day, if there was anything known about John Ker, M.D. (1639-1723 ?) the early Nonconformist Tutor. Plenty, I said; and more-

over, Calamy paints him in very human tints in his *Own Life*. This, then, is a work to be read, and re-read; while the *Account* with its *Continuation* is a work to be consulted; it is a starting-point for further enquiry and for patient and continued research.

A word about good, honest, plodding Palmer. The first thing and the main thing to be noted is that *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, drawn up at the suggestion of Job Orton (1717-1783) is not Calamy; and though it purports to be Calamy "Abridged, Corrected, and Methodized," with additions, it must be admitted that the additions are the best parts of it. Of Palmer there are two editions, and both have to be consulted, the first edition being in some respects superior to the second. I gather that this first edition (two volumes, in 1775, originally issued in parts) did not readily sell, seeing that it was reissued in 1777, and again in 1778, with new titlepages. The second edition (three volumes, in 1802-3) actually on the title-page of its first volume dates "the Act of Uniformity, Aug. 24, 1666." The misprints in the figures of the Index to this edition are a terror; the typographical errors in the body of the work are vexatious. Among Palmer's *additions* must be mentioned the engraved portraits which, in the first edition are very fine; but in the second edition are very poorly re-engraved. As a *methodizer* of Calamy, Palmer has the further merit of arranging alphabetically in each county the livings from which ejections were made; also, of stating with approximate correctness the nature, and often the value, of the preferment (these particulars are chiefly taken from Rastrick). As a *corrector* of Calamy, Palmer leaves many errors and misprints as he finds them; and at times is quite wrong, when he thinks he is setting Calamy

right. As an *abridger*, he substitutes vapid English for Calamy's pregnant and often racy turns of phrase; and omits very important documents, preserved to us by Calamy alone.

Though it was hardly a work for which he was specially fitted, we none the less owe a great and lasting debt to Palmer for his *Nonconformist's Memorial*. He is not for students; but he has done much to bring home the story of the Ejected to the minds of modern men; and his labours were dictated by a genuine reverence and love for the spirit which actuated their self-sacrifices.

As regards that spirit, "some," as Calamy quotes from Henry Sampson, "have called this Stubbornness: But if they would give themselves leave to make their Remarks on Human Nature, it would not be difficult to perswade them; that Poverty, and Anxiety to feed the Mouths of a number of craving Children, would make the stubbornest Mind tender and pliable, if there were not something of a Principle to confirm and bear them up." Indeed, as Calamy himself rightly says: "There is something more than Human in it." Well might Milton declare: "I never knew that time in England when men of truest religion were not counted *sectaries*."

ALX : GORDON.

Kinsfolk of Robert Browne in Cambridgeshire

IN *Transactions* vol. ii, pp. 151 fig., is a comprehensive account, by Rev. F. I. Cater, of the ancestors and descendants of Robert Browne. From this we gather that Anthony Browne of Tolethorpe and his wife Dorothy Boteler had seven children, of whom however only four are specified. These are (1) Francis, (2) Philip, (3) Robert, (4 and 5) sons unnamed, (6) Dorothy, (7) a child unnamed.

With reference to this unnamed youngest child we are indebted to Rev. A. C. Yorke, rector of Foulmere, Cambs., for the following interesting communication.

“In 160³/₄ the Rev^d Henry Brampton was presented to the rectory of Foulmere by Sir Thomas Skinner, goldsmith and alderman of London. Mr. Brampton and nearly all his family died of the plague, or of smallpox, in an awful visitation that fell on Foulmere in 1609. Apparently Mr. Brampton moved in patriarchal style, with his father and other kindred. On 28th August, 1604, was buried Henry Brampton the elder, ‘father of the minister.’ A month previous, 25th July 1604, was married ‘Thomas Wallis of Grate Gransden and Frances Brampton d^r of John Brampton and Johan Browne his wief, dr of Anthonie Browne Esquire of Tolethorpe.’

“Here then is a distinct and explicit statement that the Johan in question was (1) daughter of Anthonie Browne of Tolethorpe, (2) ‘wief’ of

John Brampton, and (3) that they had a daughter Frances. All this falls in with your 'seven'; and her name and Frances tally with the family tradition. John Brampton must have been brother or uncle to Henry Brampton the rector of Foulmere. Presumably, as we have the father *in loc.*, we may write him down as brother.

"If Johan was born after the four you name—Robert being born about 1550—we may place her birth about 1560, which would make her, if living at the time, some 44 or 45 years of age. Frances Brampton, if then 18 years old, would have been born about 1586. That was the year of Robert's recantation and appointment to St. Olave's school. It was five years before his institution as rector of Achurch. He died 1633, some 24 years after Henry Brampton.

"At the other end of Robert's 'Newfangledness'; Dry Drayton, where he was in 157⁸/₉, is but 13 miles from Foulmere; and Bennet's church, Cambridge, where he was in 1579-80, is but 9 miles distant. The Bramptons were apparently at Foulmere by 1597; for in that year Henry is curate under John Freake, absentee rector, and son of Edward Freake who was bishop of Norwich 1571-84. (Edward Freake had been rector of Foulmere 1561-70.) Foulmere was therefore within the Brownist atmosphere.

"In 1636 John La Mott, merchant, of London, purchased the lordship of Foulmere with the advowson, finding as rector the Rev. John Morden, a peppery Royalist. In 1643 Manchester's committee extruded Mr. Morden as 'a scandalous minister'; and Dr. Watson, a Presbyterian, was appointed by Mr. La Mott Honeywood, a brother of Judith, wife of Nicholas Strode, *miles*. The articles of presentment against Mr. Morden (B.M. Addl. MS. 15,672) shew strong Independent touches; and

the like Independency would not brook Dr. Watson, who, on the plea of neglecting the rectory buildings, was deprived in 1645, and Rev. Ezekias King appointed in his place. Mr. King is the real founder of the Independent congregation in Foulmere. But, I take it, the leaven was first placed in the lump through the connection with Robert Browne and his family between 1578 and 1609. Beyond that I cannot go ; and the point of real interest is in 'Johan, dr. of Anthonie Browne of Tolethorpe,' whose husband's brother was whilom curate, then rector of Foulmere."

It is with some regret that we confess inability to accept Mr. Yorke's affiliation of modern Non-conformity in Foulmere to the early Brownists or Puritans. But Ezekias King, after his ejection, was licensed as a Presbyterian preacher at Hornsey, Middlesex, on 15th May, 1672. No mention of Foulmere is found either in the Sheldonian return of conventicles in 1669, among the licence documents of 1672, in Evans's list, 1718 corrected to 1729, or in Thompson's list 1773. We must therefore, failing some definite evidence to the contrary, accept the traditional date of the Congregational church, viz. 1780 or-81.

A Rare Separatist Pamphlet

The "Advertisement" of Jean de l'Ecluse

In the Bibliographical List appended to Dexter's *Congregationalism of the Last 300 Years* we find the following:

"1611. J. de l'Ecluse—Advertisement against Mr. Brightman, etc. [Paget's Arrow 193 : Hanbury i. 260,343]." This indicates that Dexter knew of the book only from the references in Paget and Hanbury, had not seen it, and could not locate a copy, notwithstanding his familiarity with the treasures of the British Museum, Bodleian, and other libraries. Arber, in his *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, p. 114, mentions "A Shield of Defence against the Arrows of Schism shot abroad by J. de l'Ecluse in his advertisement against Master Brightman, 1612" (a very rare tract, of which the only copies known are two in the Bodleian); and he adds "L'Ecluse's Advertisement is apparently a lost book."

Fortunately it is not so completely lost as Dr. Dexter and Prof. Arber supposed. There is a copy, perhaps unique, bound up with some treatises of H. Ainsworth's in the Congregational Library. Even if the tract were of no intrinsic value, its extreme rarity and its association with the Exiled Church would afford valid reasons for its reproduction: but in fact it is an interesting illustration of that irreconcilable Separatism which prevailed among the early Barrowists, which was rebuked by R. Browne in his lately discovered *Retraction*, and was distinctly repudiated by John Robinson.

Thomas Brightman, against whom the tract is directed, was a Conforming Puritan of the type of Bernard of Batcombe. He was born at Nottingham in 1556, entered Queen's College, Cambridge, 21st February, 1576-7, became Fellow of his college 30th May, 1586, and afterwards rector of Hawnes, Bedfordshire. He disapproved of prelacy, and subscribed the *Book of Discipline*, but was strongly averse to Separation. His published works are a Commentary on the Revelation, one on the Song of Songs, and another on Daniel; all on lines which would find little favour in the present day, but which gained for him something of the reputation of a prophet. Of the seven churches in Asia, he regards the first four as typical of the whole Church in successive ages until the Reformation; Sardis represents the Lutheran churches, Philadelphia the Reformed, and Laodicea the English. Seals, trumpets, and vials are all historical periods or events; stars and angels are usually—not always—individuals, as Constantine, Pope Boniface, Wiclif, Luther, etc.; the angel of the sickle is Thomas Cromwell, the angel that had power over fire is Cranmer, the angel of the waters is Cecil, and the seventh trumpet announces the accession of Queen Elizabeth! The Song of Songs is dealt with in a manner equally fantastic. Brightman died, very suddenly, on 24th August, 1607.

Jean de l'Ecluse was a Frenchman, a native of Rouen, and by trade a printer. Coming to Amsterdam he became connected with Giles Thorp, an elder of the Exiled Church, who printed a good deal of Puritan and Separatist literature. It was presumably through this connection that he was brought into the fellowship of the English Separatists; and after a time was himself elected to the eldership. He had a hand in the translation

as well as the printing of Brightman's book ; and the complete freedom of his literary style from any trace of French idiom is remarkable. Scarcely less remarkable is the occasional substitution of a plural for a singular verb : a grammatical solecism usually deemed characteristic of East Anglian folk-speech. Entries in the public records of Amsterdam shew that l'Ecluse was married no less than four times (see *Transactions*, vol. ii, pp. 162-168.) His third wife was probably a sister of Mrs. Bradford, one of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims, who was accidentally drowned off the coast of New England. On the disruption which took place between the followers of Henry Ainsworth and Francis Johnson, l'Ecluse adhered to the former ; and after Ainsworth's death he presided for a time over the congregation, or perhaps over a section of it. In 1616 he was described as a schoolmaster. The time of his death is unknown.

AN
ADVERTISEMENT

TO
EVERIE GODLY READER OF
Mr. Thomas Brightman his book.

namely,
A REVELATION OF THE APOCALYPS.

In which advertisement is shewed how corruptly he teacheth, that notwithstanding all the sinns & abominations that are in the Church of England, and by him shewed, yet that it is blasphemous to separate from it.

I King. 18. 21

How long halt yee between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him ; but if Baal be he, then go after him.



Imprinted in the yere 1612

AN EPISTLE

[3 page]

To the Reader



GENTLE Reader, the causes that have moved mee to put forth this short writing, are chiefly three; the first, the glory of the Lord my God, who as he is holy, so dooth he require that all his people should be holy, in all manner of conversation: and that all those that call upon the name of Christ should depart from iniquity. 2 Tim. 2. 19. The second, the fervent desire which I have of the salvation of mens soules, & gayning of them unto God; the means whereof being, in shewing unto them their erring from the truth, and to convert them from going astray, out of the way. The third, is in respect of my self; for having had a hand both in the translating* and printing of M.B. book, and there being in it, as I am fully perswaded, & as by the grace of God I shal shew, out of the holy scriptures, errors and abberations from the truth of the living God; If I had held my peace and sayd nothing, I could not have cleared myself from partaking with other mens synns; and so should have done, contrary unto that holy commandment of the Apostle to Timothy.

Lev. 19. 8.
1 Pet. 1. 15.
15.

Iam. 5. 19. 20.

1. Tim. 1. 22.

To the end therefore, that the reader may the better perceive the thing intended in this writing, namely, how corruptly Mr. Brightman, dooth teach, not to separate from the Church of Engl. notwithstanding all the corruptions which he shews to be in her; this is the order that I shall observe, to wit, that first I will set down some of the particulars whereby he blames that Church of England, for partaking with the corruptions and manner of government of Antichrist. Secondly I shall shew some of the praises, which notwithstanding these corruptions, he gives unto the same. And thirdly what is the collection or conclusion that he gathers thereupon: which having done I shall also declare my mind concerning these things. And thus (Christian Reader) I shall comit the approving, or censuring of all, to thy godly wisdom, grounded upon the canon and holy writings of the holy Prophets and Apostles.

Fare well.

Thine as thou art the Lords.

[The signature, if there were any, is cropped off. Ed.]

* This phrase, together with marginal notes on pp. 5, 6, 8, suggests that the Commentary must have been first written in Latin. Ed.

An Advertisement concerning M.

[5 page]

Brightman upon the Apocalyps



FOR to come therefore unto the matter I will begin with that which is written in the 103 page of his book, translated into English, where he shewed the most fearful estate of the Church of England in these words: *I could not but mourn from the bottome of myne heart when I beheld in her, Christ *lothing us, and very greatly provoked against us.*

The second blame which he layeth upon the back of the Church of England is, that the *most mighty King Henry had expelled the Pope, but reteyned the popish superstitions*; pag. 104 of the sayd book.

The third evil wherwith he chargeth that Church of England is, that *there is such a form of Church established as is neyther cold nor hot, but set in the middes, and made of both*: and againe in the same place about 2 or 3 lines after he hath these words: *Hot in deed she is not, whose outward government for the most part is yet stil Romish: in the degrees of their Clergie, in Elections, and ordinations, and whole administration of the Censures: which † mixing of the pure doctrine, and Romish regiment together, maketh this lukewarmness, wherby wee stand in the middes between cold and hot, between the Romish and the reformed Churches, of both which wee are *composed*: and a few lines after he produceth the testimony of the learned and godly Martin Bucer, in a letter of his written to a friend at Cambridge in the yeare 1550, where he complayneth of the corruption of the Church of England, in these words; *There be some who by most humane wisdom and vanishing cogitations, would joyne together God and Belial, by the leaven of Antichrist*: Such are the words of Martin Bucer: which are thus confirmed by Mr. Brightmans: *These things he did write, which we at this day find by experience too true.* pa. 108 of his book.

4. He maketh the condition of the poor blinde Papists, to be farr better, then the condition of the Angels of the Church of England; in these words, *for in this place Christ preferreth the blinde Papists, before those Angels, who bewitched with ambition and covetousness, doe refuse holy reformation.* pag. 109. And in the 111 pag, speaking of the punishment to be inflicted upon this English Angel for his sinnes, he speaketh also thus of the whole Church.

I

* fasti-
dientem

II

III

temperatio
purioris doc-
trinae.

* conflamur

IIII

It is also to be feared, that the Church may feele some aduersitie, through contagion and consenting to. Such as are the Angels, such becometh thee for the most part : and none is so ignorant of the matters, that seeth not playnly, that the whole body is sick of the same disease. And so by his own grant, [6 page] the whole state of that Church to be worse then that of the Church of Rome.

5. In the 112 page he sheweth what is the cause of the lukewarmnes of the Church of England in these words : *In our England the congruency is so manifest, that nothing could have been expressed more lively : for what other cause can we bring of our lukewarmnes, the Popish government mingled with the pure doctrine then the love of riches and honours ? &c.* V

6. Observe also in the same page a short description of the Angel of the Church of Engl. in these words. *But our Bishops are Peeres of the Realme, superiour in honour to many great states : also in riches, company of men and mayd servants, in magnificence of howses, and all the other pomp of the world, equal to any, even the greatest Earles. How rich is the rest of the Clergie ? The Deanes, Arch-deacons, Prebendaries, Chaplains, &c.* And that these and the like are the Angel of the Church of England wherof he speaketh so often in this book, it appeareth by that wich foloweth in the beginning of the page 113 in these words : *Doe not this amplify and increase very greatly the glory of the Church, that her Ministers do shine in garments of silk and velvet, &c.* and also by that which is in pag. 117, thus, *Thou art therefore a begger ô thou English Angel :* comprehending under the name of this English Angel, which he calls a begger, Curates, Prebendaries, Archdeacons, Deacons & the Bishops themselves, as it may be plainly seen in the 116 and 117 pages of his book, in which places observe also by the way the manner of entrance into the Ministry of the Church of England, plainly described by Mr. Brightman. VI

7. The seventh charge wherewith he dealeth with the Church of Engl. is to be seen in the 116 pa. thus : *So reprehensions are silent, *naughtines reigneth, the hand of God is heavy upon us, and whither the matter will grow at last, prudent men feare not without just cause.* With which is to be added that which he sayth in the pag. 117, namely that the lawes of Christ are not kept in the Ch : of Engl. in these words : *Wee avayle nothing with our Lawes, where the lawes of Christ are not kept.* VII

8. In the pag. 119 he observeth, that the ordinances concerning the manner of entrance into the Ministry of the Church of England is such, as for which the other VIII

* nequitia
regnat

reformed Churches may be ashamed: thus, *Excellent ordinances indeed; for which the reformed Churches may be ashamed.*

9. He chargeth this Church to have such officers as whose names, | except the Bishops have not been heard in the Church: thus, *What is this auncient use of pronouncing the sentence by them, whose name, except onely the Bishop, have not been heard in deed in the Church, as long as the true honour and dignity of excommunication remainyed?* IX [7 page]

The tenth and last charge of his, which I doo here purpose to adde, leaving the rest, because it were too long to relate them all in particular. Shalbe this, written in the pag. 128 of his book, where he makes the Angel of the Church of Engl. a persecutor of the brethren & a deceiver of the Prince. Thus, *Repent of the iniuries which thou hast done to the brethren, in casting some into prison, in turning others out of their goods, in depriving many of the power to preach the word, in reproaching and traducing all with the odious name of Anabaptists, &c. and in the same page a few lines after; thus he speaketh, That was a notable calummie, whereby both thou hast deceived the PRINCE, and also hast procured hatred to thy brethren: &c.* X

These & many the like charges are in his book, wherby he sheweth the fearfulnes of the estate of the Church of England.

Now followeth to shew briefly some of the prayses which he also giveth unto her, wherby as with a salve, he cureth all her soares.

And first in the very title of his Epistle dedicatory to the Churches he writeth *To the holy reformed Churches of &c.* where note that the Church of Britany, that is the Church of England hath this honourable title given her with the rest, *holy reformed*: unto which title add that which also he saith in the 102 pag. of this book, where he maketh the Church of England to be the Antitype of the Church of Laodicea, thus; *The Antitype is the third reformed Church.* I

The second good thing which he sheweth to be in the Church and Kingdome of England is twofold, in the 104 & 105 pages of his book; the first in respect of earthly blessings: second in respect of spiritual: for the first thus he speaketh: *From hence the lawes are in force, judgements are exercised, everyone inioyeth his own; iniuries are restrayned; wantonnes is repressed, &c.* The second is thus, *And to what end were all these good things if we could not have the wholsom doctrine of truth? But ever since the first times of our most peaceable Queeu, he hath sayseed up continually diligent and learned Pastours & Teachers,* II

double
blessing
in the
Church
of Engl.

Earthly

Spiritual

who have preached the word purely and sincerely. Neyther at this day are wanting many, by his infinite mercy, who bestow all their labour in imparting to his people the whole will of God, and that pure and uncorrupt from all leaven of falshood. | Adde unto this also the sanctification of these [8 page] Pastours by Christ in the 106 page, thus ; *But he that is a faithful and true witness, sanctifieth the Pastours with the truth beyond all hope: in whose lipps he dwelleth even hitherto.*

3. But in the page 318 he is large in describing the good estate of the Church of England thus : *as it came to pass in our England, to which Christ at the sound of the seventh trumpet, in the yere 1558, gave the most gracious Queen Elizabeth, who againe gave her kingdome to Christ, in rooting out through all her dominions, the most part of the Romish superstitions, and in restoring to her people the syncere and wholesome truth, that wee might worship the Lord our God according to his ordinance.*

The fourth good thing which he mentioneth to be in the Church of England, is the preaching of the word & the lawful administration of the sacraments, in these words : *These things therefore doo proove, that a double and great good thing doo abide in the English Church, that is to say the preaching of the word, and the lawful administration of the sacraments : In both which Christ bestoweth himself upon his people, keeping a mutual feast with them, he first being received of us by hearing of the word, secondly, enterlayning us againe with the supper of his body.*

And thus much touching some of the praises which he giveth unto that Church of England : now let the godly see in these words of his following, what conclusion he maketh hereupon ; which may be read in the 131 pag. of his book thus : *Therefore wicked and blasphemous is their error, who doo fall away so from this church, as if Christ were banished wholly from hence ; and that there could not be any hope of Salvation for them that tarry there. Let them mind here Christ feasting with his people. Wil they be ashamed to sit down there, where they see Christ not to be ashamed ? Are they purer and holyer then he ? &c.*

These things being thus set down, it resteth now that according to my promise, I doo also shew my mind concerning them : thus therefore, first to begin with that which I have set for the first charge, which he layeth upon the Church of England ; I desire the reader to observe the word which he useth of Christ *loathing them*, which word of loathing seemeth to be taken from the 95 Psal. ver. 10. where the Prophet speaking in the person of the Lord himself, sayth that fowrty yeres long he had loathed

III

IIII

that generation : saying that they are a people erring in heart, and not knowing his wayes, wherfore he sware in his wrath that they should not enter into his | rest. So [9 page] that by M. Brightmans own graunt this Church of England is in no better estate than were those rebels in the wildernes, all which were consumed and entred not into his rest, as he had sworn.

But that the Lord hath more just cause to loath the Church of England, then that of the Israelites in the wildernes, let the reader observe it in these particulars ; first that that Church had a true Ministry, and true Offices and Officers ; and so hath not the Church of England by M. Brightmans own graunt : Secondly the Officers of that Church never persecuted the faithful Jewes for practising the holy ordinances of God ; as he affirmeth that the Angel of the Ch. of England dooth, those that will not submit to their government. Thirdly, their government was not a mixt government partly of the Ægyptians, partly of the Moabites, and Edomites or Cananeans, but simple and pure according to the true pattern shewed to Moses in the mount ; but that of England is not so, for Mr Brightman affirmeth it to be partly Romish and partly reformed, and so not the true government which Christ hath appointed in his eternall Testament : Fourthly, none of that Church were admitted unto any office but only such as were lawfully called thereto as Aaron was, but so it is not in the Church of England, for such Offices and Officers are there admitted as are unknown unto the true Church of Christ by Mr Brightmans own doctrine. Therefore it dooth necessarily follow that the estate of the Church of England is worse then was the estate of those rebels in the wildernes, and that there is nothing to be expected from Christ, by any member thereof, but a powring out of his eternall wrath upon them.

Concerning his second charge of King Henry expelling the Pope but reteyning the popish superstition ; this is that which I say, that the Pope cannot properly be said to be expelled when his doctrine & superstition is reteyned ; for as concerning the Popes own person he could not be expelled from England for he was never there. But it may be that Mr Brightman meaneth that some of the Monks & Fryars were driven out and their revenues taken away from them ; as also that their manner of worshipping of God which was in the Latin tongue, was then translated into English : but what of all this ? can this be said to be an expelling of the Pope ? No ; for indeed & properly, it is the doctrine & superstition of the Pope which dooth corrupt the harts and soules of men, which can be done eyther in a | [10 page] Kingdome or in a Province or in a parish, or in a house without the presence eyther of the Pope himself or of any of his Monks and Fryars, by their

doctrine, superstition, false manner of worship, which are spread too farre abroad in the world by their bookes and writings, and even now retheyned at this day in England, as Mr Brightman himself do write.

The Third is that the established form of the Church of England is neyther cold nor hot, and againe, that she is not hot whose outward government for the most parts is yet still Romish; and againe that this mixing of the pure doctrine and Romish government together maketh this lukewarmnes; whereby they stand between cold and hot, between the Romish and the reformed Churches, of both which they are composed: joyn with this that which wee have set for the fift charge where he sayth, that *no other cause can be brought of their lukewarmnes, the Popish government mingled with the pure doctrine, then the love of riches and honours?*

Now I beseech the reader to compare this with his first prayse of the Church of England which is in the very title of his Epistle dedicatory, where he intituled the Church of England to be a reformed Church. Is it possible that holynes and unholynes can raigne together? Is there any cōmunion between Christ and Antichrist? between light and darknes? between Idols and the true God? Can any Kingdome, any Church, any family, any man submit unto the government of Antichrist and not be defiled therby? No God himself and his Prophets; Christ and his Apostles doo teach otherwise, therefore let all such as do so teach, remember that saying of the Prophet Isayas, *Woe unto him that calleth evil good, &c.*

Moreover in his fourth charge where he maketh the state of the poor blinde Papists farr better, then the condition of the Angel of the Church of England, and that also such as are the Angels such becōmeth the Church for the most part, I doe observe that by his own doctrine the estate of the Church of England is worse than Babylon it self; which Babylon is granted by all to be that Synagogue and Church of Antichrist devoted unto destruction in the day of the eternall wrath of the Lamb. And where are then those great prayses of all manner of blessings upon that Church rehersed in the second article, but cheifly these spiritual blessings of the word purely and syncerely taught in it? Yea in that Church of which he saith in | [II page] the seventh article of his charges that *naughtlynes raigneth* in it, the hād of God is heavie upon it: and agayn, that in her the lawes of Christ are not kept. But what is there then to be done even this, that every soule who hath any care of salvation and of escaping the eternall flames of everlasting damnation be careful to come out with speed from Babylon and not to partake any longer with her sinnes, least they partake also of her plagues: For it is impossible to be both a holy member of Christ, and worse than a Papist; Christ nor his members cannot be coupled with a harlot and her members, & whosoever coupleth

himself with a harlot, is made one body with her, as witnesseth the holy Apostle.

As concerning therefore the outward blessings of peace and prosperity in earthly things, let every godly mind that by it no Church, no man, can have any assurance to be in the favour of God ; but let every soul be sure that where there is no repentance from evil works they are but fatlings against the day of slaughter.

But because I doe see that this writing enlargeth it self beyond that which I had determined, I shall now begin to draw to an end concerning his charges against the Church of England and the Angel thereof : and therefore wil here bring the rest into a short summe, and they ar these, first, that the entrāce into the Ministry of the Church of England is such as for which the other reformed Churches may be ashamed : secondly that the names of the officers of that Church have not been heard in the Church, but onely the Bishops ; finally that the Angel of that Church, is both a persecutor of the brethren, and a deceiver of the Prince : when I doe consider these things and others also which I have both seen and heard, I cannot but lament & deplore the estate both of those most noble Princes of England as also of their poore subjects, which are thus misused by those sonns of Anak though I be but a stranger unto them and under the jurisdiction of an other Prince. It is now 46 yeres agoe that indeed the reformed Churches began to be ashamed of some things which they had but heard concerning the estate of the Church of England, as namely *the plurality of benefices, licence of non-residency, licences to contract marriages, the use of meals* and the like, which things they then judged, not to be a corruption of christianity, but a manifest apostasy from Christ : for which see my countryman of famous & happy memory Theodorus Beza in his Epistle to Edmund Grindal then [12 page] | Bishop of London. *Epist.* 8. toward the end. And if these things were thus written so many yeres agoe, what may all the reformed Churches now say of the estate of that of England which they have as yet embraced as their sister hitherto, when they shall both see & know by this man even a professed freind of hers, thus to speak, concerning her estate ; But yet concerning this point I must needs say, that in deed the reformed Churches have not dealt with that Church of England so syncerely & plainly as they should have done. For what is it, if one or two of the most famous members of them have thus in a few words and as it were by the way set down some few of her corruptions ? Have they not many thousands of them both learned and unlearned, seen and heard the estate of the officers of that Ch : to be Antichristian ? & that the very offspring of every one of them is from the Archbishops, which very name may not be attributed unto any eyther man or Angel without blasphemy against Christ Jesus who is the alone head and cheif of all Bishops and Pastours ? Have they not

also seen that the manner of worshipping God in their Cathedral Churches, as they call them, with singing men, and singing boyes clothed with white surplices, with Orgens and all manner of musique? Have they not seen and heard that all manner of wicked livers both Papists and others are compelled to partake with the rest, and of a confused multitude, to make the Church and body of Christ, and so force and compel men to take their condemnation and judgment? Have they not also heard and known that the Archbishops and Bishops and others of the officers of that Church have so many yeeres continually opposed and shewed themselves to be deadly enemies unto all godly reformation? Yea, doubtles, they doo know and have known all these things and many more: But how have they dealt in this respect? Have they at any time Christianly & soundly admonished, reprov'd, convinced that Church of their corruptions by the lawe and word of God as they ought to have done? not at al: but they have rather eyther held their peace or flattered them in their sinns, or so little spoken or written of them, as that they may well and justly be ashamed, of their unkindnes in this respect towards that Kingdome and people of whom they have received so many benefits in tyme of their calamities & banishments. Concerning the names of the officers of that Church, they were (sayth he) unknown unto the Church of Christ. &c. And what is [13 page] this? Shal then any soule in whome there is but a very small sparkle of the feare of God, be so bold as to dare submitt under the government and guidance of such unlawfull Ministers and Ministry? Are they not all thieves & robbers which enter not in by the doore, but climbe up another way? And will any man of wisdome commit unto the protection and keeping of thieves the least part of his worldly goods? No, none wilbe so unwise, for every one knoweth that they wil but make a pray of them and spoile and robbe them. And shall any then be so carefull for things of so small importance, and shall he not care unto whom he dooth commit the guidance of that which is the principall, namely of his soule? Let them alone therefore, for as our saviour Christ sayth, they are blind leaders of the blind: and both of them shall surely fall into the pit.

Finally, the Angel of the Church of England is both a persecutor of the brethren and a deceiver of the Prince. Marvelous; and is he still for all this, the Angel of the Church in Mr Brightmans judgement? In mine doubtlesse he is altogether otherwise, even that Angel of the bottomlesse pit, who is a King over those Locusts spoken of in the ninth of the Revelation; like unto that wicked Haman spoken of in the book of Esther who both persecuted the brethren of the Church of God, and also deceived the King: but let those take heed, for God who hath the hearts of Kings & Princes in his hands, for to turn them as the Rivers of waters, shall no doubt discover the malice of this Angel unto the

Princes of that land, and then shall they be rewarded as Haman was. Besides let every godly Reader observe, that to be a persecutor of Gods people and saints, is and hath been alwayes a sure mark of Antichrist and of his kingdome.

To conclude therefore this writing, I wil come unto that which wee have set for the fourth prayse of the Church of England, and the conclusions that he dooth inferr therupon, which are these. *These things therefore proove that a double and great good thing dooth abide in the English Church, that is to say, the preaching of the word, and the lawfull administration of the sacraments: &c.* his 2. conclusion followeth therupon thus: *Therefore wicked and blasphemous is their error, who doo so fall away from this Church, as if Christ were banished wholly from hence &c.* And so by this whatsoever sinns, errours, wickednesses abominations, he hath shewed before to be, both in the Angel and in the Church it self, all is now cured by this salve: ô most miserable dawbing with | [14 page] untempered mortar! Can any preach in the office of an Angel purely and sincerely who is a theife and a robber? Shal any man administer purely, who is not lawfully called thereunto as Aaron was? Can any unlawfull minister administer lawfully the seales of Gods Covenant unto dogges and swyne purely and sincerely? O cease to doe evil & learne to doe good! God who is jealous of his honour and glory shall not long suffer this wickednes unpunished. Are the bodies of Idolatrous Papists, or abhominable whores and whoremongers, and of all manner of wicked ones, the temples of the holy Ghost? No; who soever coupleth himself with a harlot is made one body with her, as he witnesseth to the Corinthians: Therefore Christ is far from that Church in respect of any blessing or approving of their worship, howsoever Mr Brightman perswaded otherwise: And therefore the two synns whereof he accused before that Angel of the Ch: of England, are here found upon him: namely that in thus writing he hath been both a persecutor of the brethren and a deceiver of the Prince: for what greater persecution could he put upon those poore soules which have separated themselves from those evils by himselfe set down, then to accuse or charge them of blasphemy; yea it is such a persecution as that it is unto death; for by the lawe of God, a blasphemers must dye. And how hath he also deceived the Princes, he & others of his minde by causing them to banish and keepe in banishment their most loyall and faithful subjects? And in deed although I am but a stranger unto them and one of another people, yet the truth caused me to speak thus in their behalf, that I know not any people at this day under the Sunne more loyall and faithful unto their Prince and country; and more zelous and religious toward God then they are: and these things are seen in them both privately and publikly: yea in such measure as that, I am fully perswaded that they are, and shalbe if they continue

faithfull unto the end, that people by which chiefly Antichrist the man of sin shalbe rooted out : for by that purity of doctrine which they doe teach, & by the syncere and publick administration of the glorious Kingdome of Christ publikly and before all the people ; as also by professing that glorious liberty in the Gospel, that if any sinne be shewed or manifested unto them by the word of God [*it*] is amended whatsoever opposition may be to the contrary ; by those things, I say, by them professed, practised, and taught, it is impossible that | [15 page] where they have place, Antichrist can or have any doore to come in. And for my part I doe blesse the day in which I had that grace from my God to knowe both the people & their faithfull walking in their wayes and religion of God : and *I beseech the Lord of his grace even with tears that he vouchsafe to open the eyes of their most noble and wise Prince that he may see the iustice and equity of their cause, and cause them to see his Royall face and presence agayn with ioy and gladness of heart under his dominions and jurisdictions. Amen.*

And so I doe here end, though many more things might be said touching separation from evil, and adjoyning or following that which is good : and in deed in a word, wee shall not read even from the beginning of the world to this day, that there was ever
 any true Church of God truely establisht but
 by separation : & therefore this peo-
 ple not to be blasphemers,
 but true worshippers
 of God.

The "New Conformists"

IT is well known that of nearly 2500 ministers who were either removed from their benefices or disqualified for preferment by the legislation of 1660-62, about one tenth afterwards submitted to the Act of Uniformity. These were in general somewhat severely judged by their more steadfast brethren; and in the pamphlets of the time we find harsh language about the "New Conformists." It would be interesting, if possible, to determine how far the implied sarcasm was just; how many of the 250 or 260 who "afterwards conformed" were really "Bartholomew Men," and how many on the other hand had no opportunity of retaining their benefices by conformity. Unfortunately this cannot be precisely ascertained. Altogether considerably more than 400 had no option in the matter; viz., all occupants of sequestrated benefices of which the former incumbents claimed reinstatement, all preachers and lecturers who had been "intruded" into cathedrals after the abolition of the old cathedral establishments, and all known Baptists and avowed Republicans. The researches of Dr. Nightingale shew that in the north of England several men who have been counted as "Ejected Ministers" were not really such; they were quite willing to accept the new order, but found it either necessary or desirable to remove to fresh locations; and it is all but certain that the like occurred elsewhere.

The following is a practically complete list of

the men who are said to have "afterwards conformed." The sign S/60 denotes removal from a sequestrated benefice where the former incumbent was reinstated; of these there were 35 who conformed. Figures /60 or /61 without S indicate similar removal where there was no reinstatement; these number 18. 0 denotes men who at once conformed, but removed; 5 are indicated, but no doubt there were others. To names the date of whose ejection is quite uncertain (? date) is attached; there are 38 of these, besides 14 of whom we know the county but not the actual post from which they were removed. Making these deductions from the total, we may be assured that of the actual Bartholomew men considerably less than one tenth proved recreant to their principles. Somewhere between 150 and 190 seems a reasonable estimate.

Ejected Ministers who afterwards Conformed

LONDON

Thomas Horton, D.D.; Gresham College (? date)
 — Hutchinson; St. Michael Royal S/60?
 Samuel Smith; S. Bennets Gracechurch S/60?
 Thomas Wills; S. Botolph's Gate S/60?

OXFORD UNIVERSITY

John Conant, D.D.; Rector of Exeter Col. /60

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

Edmund Hough; Jesus Col. (? date)

BEDFORDSHIRE

Dr. Fowler; Northill. (*Aftwd. Bp. of Gloucester.*) (? date)

BERKSHIRE

— Hutchins; Benford or Boxford
 Robert Twiss; Burscott
 John Francis; East Ilsley S/60
 William Hughes; Hinton S/60
 John Bateman; Shenfield S/60
 Samuel Reynor; Sunning
 William Lee; Wantage

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

John Wye (? place & date)

CHESHIRE

Nicholas Stephenson; Alderley S/60
 — Wright; Beeston or Bidstone
 — Edwards; Christleton
 — Colley; Churton Heath

Thomas Bradshaw ; Grappenhall S/60
 Thomas Burroughs ; Harthill S/60
 — Hassall ; Haslington
 Robert Hunter ; Knutsford
 Edward Buxton ; Swettenham
 Matthew Jenkyn ; Shotwick
 Samuel Edgeley ; Thornton on the Moor

CORNWALL

William White ; Ladock S/60
 Thomas Nichols ; Liskeard S/60
 Leonard Welstead ; Penzance S/60 ?
 John Stevens ; Roche (? date)
 Philip Harris ; St. Ewe (? date)
 Richard Jago, Senr. *(? place and date)
 Richard Jago, Junr. *(? place and date)
 Nicholas Teague or Tyack *(? place and date)
 Thomas Warner *(? place and date)

CUMBERLAND

George Yates ; Ainstable⁰ /6I
 John Forward ; Bolton Mealsgate /60
 James Cragg ; Newkirk⁰ /60
 George Tibbold ; Skelton⁰ /6I

DERBYSHIRE

Edward Hollingshead ; Ashford Chapel
 James Sutton ; Criche
 James Loughton ; Chapel-Dore
 — Matthews ; Edlaston
 Edward Pool ; Mugginton

DEVONSHIRE

Joshua Bowden ; Ashburton (? date)
 John Tickel ; Exeter (? date)
 Leonard Prince ; Ilfracombe

— Bubear ; Kennerley
 Richard Conant ; Otterton S/60
 — Bulhead ; Rings Ash (*doubtful*)
 Francis Collins ; St. Budock
 Edward Bine ; Upton Pine S/60

DORSET

Joseph Crabb ; Beaminster
 Richard Shute ; Stalbridge S/60

DURHAM

— Parish ; Darlington
 Daniel Bushel ; Eaglescliff
 Richard Battersby ; Haughton (? date)
 John Timson ; Helen's Auckland
 Josiah Dockwray ; Lanchester
 Thomas Bowyer ; Muggleswick
 John Kid ; Redmarshall
 John Weld ; Ryton (? date)
 John Berwick ; Stanhope S/60
 — Scott ; Whickham (? date)
 — Bickerton ; Wolsingham

ESSEX

John Chandler, Bromley (Little)
 — Ferris ; Cold Norton
 John Harper ; Epping S/60
 Samuel Crossman ; Henney (Little) (? date)
 — Latham ; Orsett S/60
 — Holmes ; Writtle /60

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

C. Sumner ; Alverstone
 Nathaniel Hall ; Avening
 John Lee ; Barnsley
 — Hall ; Beverstone (? date)
 — Fido ; Cold Ashton
 — Barnsdale or Barksdale ; Frampton
 — Alway ; Guyting (Upper)
 — Shene or Shere ; Old Sodbury

HAMPSHIRE

- George Jones ; Kings Som-
borne *doubtful*
Faithful Teate ; Winchester
Cathedral /60
Humphrey Ellis ; Winchester
Cathedral /60

HEREFORDSHIRE

- Malden ; Upper Sapey
— Broster ; Wormbridge

HERTFORDSHIRE

- T. Owen, Braintfield /60
— Hardy ; Broxbourn
Thomas Hacket ; Datchworth
S/60
— Godwin ; Eastwick
— Stallybrass ; Essendine S/60
D. Hicks ; Hartlingfordbury
(? date)
John Ewer ; Sawbridgworth
S/60
Philip Goodwin ; Watford /60
— Thornton ; Wheathampstead
(? date)

HUNTINGDONSHIRE

- Richard Kidder ; Standground
† (*Aftwd. Bp. of Bath &
Wells*)

KENT

- Osmanton ; Ivychurch
Daniel Hayes ; Preston

LANCASHIRE

- James Bocker ; Blackley
— Jackeys ; Bolton
William Aspinwell ; Formby
— Briers ; Heapey
— Fisher ; Kirkham
Bradley Hayhurst ; Leigh
— Loben ; Oldham
William Cole ; Preston
Joshua Ambrose ; West Derby
Robert Dewhirst ; Whitworth
Constantine Jessop ; Winwick

LEICESTERSHIRE

- Henry Pierce ; Claybrook
(? date)
Thomas Doughty ; Medburn
— Jenkin ; North Rilworth
(? date)
— Blake ; Saddington

LINCOLNSHIRE

- Christopher Read ; Bassingham
(? date)
Samuel Male ; "Beckby"
? Bigby
Richard Sharp ; Sedgebrook
William Lawton ; Westborough

MIDDLESEX

- (excluding London)
Ezekiel Hopkins ; Hackney
(*afterwards bishop of Derry*)
S/60
— Rolls ; Isleworth
Timothy Hall ; Norwood (*after-
wards bishop of Oxford*)

NORFOLK

- William Denham or Durham ;
Cawston
John Benton ; Great Dunham
— Day ; Hingham
— Pool ; Reymerston
— Gooch ; Scarning
John Newton ; Scarning
Mark Lewis ; Shipdam
— Elwood ; Walcott and E.
Ruston
— Odey ; (? place and date)

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

- John Stanley ; Corby
— Trott ; Draughton
Nicholas Kenrick ; Earls Barton
— Elborough ; Geddington
Samuel Ainsworth ; Kelmarsh
(*doubtful*)
Philip Tallents ; Lillford
— Warre ; Morton Pinkney

Lionel Goodrick ; Overstone
 — Dickerson ; Paston
 Joseph Neville ; Potterspury
 — Southwood ; Pytchley
 — Gascoyne ; Warmington
 (? date)
 — Marshall ; (? place & date)
 — Winstey ; (? place & date)

NORTHUMBERLAND

James Aird ; Ingram (? date)
 John Knightsbridge ; Newcastle
 Richard Predeaux ; Newcastle
 — Ashburnham ; Newcastle
 — Cole ; Newcastle
 Thomas Lupton ; Woodhouse

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

— Fisher ; Blyth
 — Boole ; Clifton S/60
 — Forth or Frith ; Fledborough
 — Ormston ; Keyworth S/60
 — Horne ; Nuthall
 Charles Jackson ; Selston
 — Flower ; Staunton (? date)
 Daniel Chadwick ; Tollerton
 — Kendal ; Widmer Pool
 (? date)
 — Slater ; Winthorp

OXFORDSHIRE

Francis Wells ; Adderbury
 (? date)
 Seth Ward, D.D. ; Garsington
 (*Res* 60 ; *Aftwd. bishop of Exeter*)
 Thomas Hodges ; Souldern
 (? date)
 John Hartcliff ; Stadhampton

RUTLAND

John Wills ; Barrowden S/60

SALOP

— Roberts ; Morton Chapel
 — Warter ; Pontesbury 60
 — Milward ; Pulverbatch
 (? date)

Aylmer Houghton ; Prees S/60
 — Worthington ; Shawbury
 (? date)
 — Lee ; Shrewsbury
 George Berkley ; Westbury
 S/60

SOMERSET

John More ; Aller 60
 M. Tomkins ; Crewkerne
 James Strong ; Ilminster S/60
 — Oake ; Ilchester
 Jeremiah Pain ; Kingsbury S/60
 Charles Darby ; Montacute
 Cornelius Burgess, D.D. ; Wells
 60
 John Chetwynd ; Wells S/60
 Dr. Martin ; Yeovilton S/60

STAFFORDSHIRE

Nathaniel Moll ; Abbots Bromley
 — Beckett ; Harlaston
 — Jones ; Lapley (? date)
 Thomas Bold ; (? place & date)
 — Neville ; (? place & date)

SUFFOLK

Thomas Holborough, junr ;
 Akenham (? date)
 John Catlin ; Barham
 Samuel Hudson ; Capel
 George Havil ; Creeting West
 (? date)
 Isaac Harrison, D.D. ; Hadleigh
 Roger Young ; Ipswich, St.
 Nicholas
 William Sparrow ; Naughton
 — Ray ; Stansfield (? date)
 John Simson ; Trimley (? date)
 Thomas Lupton ; Waldringham
 John Fairciough, junr. ; (? place
 & date)

SUSSEX

John Walwyn ; Fittleworth 60

WARWICKSHIRE

— Wilkinson; Ansley or Anstey
 Samuel Hawes; Honiley
 Gilbert Walden; Leamington
 Hastings /60
 — Perkins; Max Stoke
 — Langley; Tamworth

WESTMORLAND

Francis Higginson; Kirkby
 Stephen
 George Fothergill; Orton
 Thomas Dodgshun; Raven-
 stonedale
 John Dalton; Shap

WILTSHIRE

Richard Franklyn; Bremhill
 S/60
 — Fosset; Churton /60
 John Norris; Collingbourn
 Kings S/60
 William Thompson; Corsham
 James Legge; Donhead St.
 Andrews /60
 Matthew Hind; Fittleton /60
 John Wilmer; Ham (? date)
 Thomas Masters; (? place &
 date)

WORCESTERSHIRE

Joseph Treffe; Church Lench^o
 Thomas Wright; Hartlebury
 (? date)
 Thomas Soley; Mitton
 William Durham (? if not John
 Derham); Tredington^o
 Simon Potter; Wolverley
 (? date)

YORKSHIRE: East Riding

Henry Hibbert, D.D.; Hull,
 Trinity
 Ralph Cornwell; Skipsea

YORKSHIRE: North Riding

Nathaniel Lambe; Alne

John Denton; Oswaldkirk
 Alexander Medcalf; Stillington
 Anthony Proctor; Well

YORKSHIRE: West Riding

Edmund Moore; Baildon
 John Hoole; Bradfield
 Francis Bovill; Bramley
 Henry Moorhouse; Castleford
 S/60
 — Scargill; Chapelthorpe
 — Lister; Giggleswick
 Obadiah Lee; Heaton
 — Buckle or Buckley; Hors-
 forth

John Hepworth; Letwell
 John Bovill; Monk Fryston
 Christopher Etherington;
 Morley (*doubtful*)
 — Sampson; Rawcliff
 Roger Kennion; Ripponden
 Ralph Wood; Saddleworth
 John Hide; Slaithwaite
 James Booker or Bowker;
 Sowerby
 Timothy Root; Sowerby
 Bridge

Wales

DENBIGHSHIRE

— Jenkins; Gresford (? date)

FLINTSHIRE

Robert Fogg, junr.; Hawarden
 John Broster; Penley

MONTGOMERYSHIRE

Maurice Lloyd; Aberhavesp

CARDIGANSHIRE

Thomas Evans; "Isard"?
 Rice Powell; Llanbedr
 Roderick Davies; Llanllwch-
 airn (? date)

CARMARTHENSHIRE

Morrice Meredith; (? place &
 date)

GLAMORGAN

— Pye ; Bishopston S/60
 Henry Nichols ; Coychurch
 (? date)
 Rees Davies ; St. Mary Hill
 — Hilliar ; Newton Nottage
 (? date)
 Evan Griffiths ; Oxwiche S/60

PEMBROKESHIRE

David Williams ; Llanfihangel
 Penbedw
 Thomas Warren ; Narberth
 (? date)
 Stephen Young ; Rhoscrowther

RADNORSHIRE

David Jenks ; Bryngwyn
 (? date)
 Thomas Evans ; Llanbister²¹³

There were *no* "New Conformists" among the ministers ejected from Buckinghamshire, Surrey, Brecknock, Carnarvon, Merioneth, or Monmouth. There were no ejections in Anglesey.

* Probably most or all of these were outed in 1660 from sequestrated benefices.

0 These were not ejected, but removed to other places, and there conformed.

† He had not seen the revised book when required to subscribe.

Early Nonconformist Academies

Warrington

Dr. Charles Owen, younger brother of James Owen of Shrewsbury, was pastor at Warrington from 1696 to 1746. "During part of this time," says Nightingale (iv. 216), "he conducted an academy with considerable success." But it seems probable that the "academy" was merely a school for boys, and that Dr. Owen had a few private divinity students, among whom were Jonathan Woodworth before 1714, Job Orton 1733-4, and Hugh Farmer.

The dissolution of the Kendal academy on the death of Rotheram in 1751, and of that at Derby on the death of Latham in 1754, rendered the foundation of a new institution desirable. The academy at Heckmondwike, founded in 1756 on a basis of the strictest Calvinistic orthodoxy, was unacceptable to congregations in which Arianism was prevalent and Socinianism not unknown. In 1747 Dr. Owen was succeeded by Rev. John Seddon, who had been educated at Kendal and Glasgow university. He soon attained popularity as a preacher, and is reputed to have been an Arian.* About 1754 he began to agitate for an institution for the education of ministers, on the principle of their being "free to follow the dictates of their own judgments in their inquiries after truth, without any undue bias imposed on their

* W. Jeremy says that in 1761 he asserted the "strictly human nature of Christ"; but Priestley wrote referring to 1761-64: "we were all Arians; the only Socinian in the neighbourhood was Seddon of Manchester"—a different person.

understandings." It was also to be open to those who were intended for the other learned professions, and for commercial life, and "to lead them to an early acquaintance with, and just concern for, the true principles of religion and liberty." Annual subscriptions having been promised to the extent of £217, chiefly from Manchester, Liverpool, Warrington, and Birmingham, proposals were circulated for a public academy wherein instruction should be given in theology, moral philosophy including logic and metaphysics, natural philosophy and mathematics, languages, and polite literature.

On 30th June, 1757, subscriptions having reached £469 annually, the first general meeting of subscribers was held and the academy constituted. Lord Willoughby of Parham was elected president, Arthur Heywood of Liverpool treasurer, and Rev. John Seddon secretary. Rev. John Taylor, D.D., of Norwich was appointed divinity tutor, Rev. John Holt of Kirkdale tutor for mathematics and natural philosophy, and Mr. Samuel Dyer from London tutor for languages and *belles lettres*. Each was to receive a salary of £100 a year, and a fee of £2 for each student attending his lectures; except divinity students on the foundation, who were exempt. As Mr. Dyer declined the appointment, his place was filled after some delay by Rev. John Aikin. Houses were engaged for the tutors, and rooms for a common hall and library; and the academy opened on 23rd October, 1757. Only three students were at first enrolled, the foremost of them gaining eminence in after years as Thomas Percival, M.D., of Manchester. The academy house is described as "a range of buildings at the north-west end of the bridge, to which was attached a considerable extent of garden ground, and a handsome terrace-walk on the banks

of the Mersey, presenting altogether a respectable collegiate appearance." A library was collected, not unworthy of the extensive plan contemplated by the founders; besides other benefactions of considerable worth, the valuable collections of the venerable B. Grosvenor, D.D., of London, and of the Rev. S. Stubbes, were presented on condition that if the academy should at any time be discontinued, the books should be transferred to some other dissenting library: a condition which was honourably observed.

It may be convenient to place here in tabular form a list of the tutors who served the institution from its foundation to its ending.

John Taylor, D.D.,	Divinity,	1757-61
John Holt,	Mathematics and Nat. Philos.,	1757-72
John Aikin, D.D.,	Classics,	1758-61
	Divinity,	1761-80
"Joseph" Priestley, LL.D., F.R.S.	Languages and <i>Belles Lettres</i> ,	1761-67
John Seddon,	Rector Academiae,	1767-70
John Reinhold Foster,	Languages and <i>Belles Lettres</i> ,	1767-69
Fantin Latour, &c.,	Languages and Nat. Hist.,	1769
William Enfield, LL.D.,	Rector: Languages and Hist.,	1770-86
George Walker,	Mathematics,	1772-74
Pendlebury Houghton,	Classics,	1778
Gilbert Wakefield, B.A.,		1779-86
Nicholas Clayton, D.D.,	Divinity,	1781-86

Dr. Taylor was born at Lancaster in 1694, studied under Dr. Dixon at Whitehaven, and settled in 1715 at Kirkstead, a small village in Lincolnshire. He there supplemented a meagre stipend by keeping a boarding school. In 1733 he removed to Norwich; and in 1740 published his *Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin*: a doctrine so unlike what was then usually accepted that it was warmly assailed by both Watts and Wesley. Other theological and controversial works followed, and in 1754 his great Hebrew Concordance, for which he received the honorary degree of D.D.

from Glasgow university. At the age of 63 he accepted a call to the divinity chair at Warrington. He was accustomed there to preface his lectures with a solemn charge to the students that they should "constantly, carefully, impartially, and conscientiously attend to evidence, as it lies in the holy scriptures, or in the nature of things and the dictates of reason"; that they should accept his teachings only "so far as they were supported and justified by proper evidence from revelation, or the reason of things"; and "that you steadily assert for yourself, and freely allow to others, the unalienable rights of judgement and conscience." Notwithstanding these counsels, however, he is said to have been somewhat dictatorial in the classroom, and "not very patient of contradiction." The substance of his lectures is understood to be embodied in his posthumous *Scheme of Scripture Divinity*, which, notwithstanding its Arian complexion, was reprinted in Bishop Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts. For some reason which cannot now be ascertained there seems to have been considerable friction between Dr. Taylor and the original promoters of the academy, in which there was probably "much misapprehension and some blame on each side." Possibly impaired health contributed to the discomfort. Dr. Taylor died in the spring of 1761.

Of Mr. Holt but little is known. He is said to have been at one time a minister at or near Lancaster, and afterwards a schoolmaster at Kirkdale, near Liverpool. He is described as a man of remarkably gentle manners, but scarcely capable of emotion. Although an accomplished mathematician, he was a less efficient teacher of that science than of Metaphysic and Natural Philosophy. It may be that his very familiarity with the former subject in its higher departments

made him unable to perceive the difficulties by which his pupils were perplexed. "Some rather impertinent hints and suggestions on the conduct of his class appear on the Minutes of the Trustees." He died in 1772.

The first classical tutor was Rev. John Aikin, D.D. He was the son of a Scottish tradesman, and was born in London 28th December, 1773. He was at first designed for trade, afterwards for the legal profession; but his taste inclining more and more to the study of sacred literature, he was sent in his nineteenth year to Dr. Doddridge's academy at Northampton, and subsequently to the university of Aberdeen. Returning from the north, he became assistant to Dr. Doddridge; and, being an acceptable preacher, was invited to the charge of a congregation at Leicester. But an injury occasioned by a fall from his horse rendered him incapable of preaching; and, having married the daughter of the Rev. John Jennings of Kibworth, he conducted for several years a successful boarding school in that village. In 1758 he accepted the classical tutorship at Warrington; where, besides interpreting the masterpieces of Greek and Roman literature, he had classes in grammar, oratory and criticism, French, logic, and history. On the death of Dr. Taylor, Mr. Aikin was induced, somewhat reluctantly, to accept the chair of divinity. A lengthy account of his methods, given in the *Monthly Repository*, 1813, makes plain the reasons of his great success in this department; his thorough scholarship, patient tuition, and genial manners gained for him the love of the students; and he "lived always in perfect harmony with his colleagues and the trustees." In 1774 Mr. Aikin received an honorary diploma of D.D. from King's College, Aberdeen; the honour was totally unexpected, and its recipient was not

easily persuaded to use the title. Four years later his health began to fail ; and after two years of weakness and suffering he died on 14th December, 1780.

(It may be mentioned that Dr. Aikin's daughter, Anna Laetitia Barbauld, was the author of certain *Prose Hymns*, which had considerable popularity ; and was joint author with her brother, John Aikin, M.D., of a book of stories, etc., for children entitled *Evenings at Home*, which continued to delight successive generations of juveniles for more than half a century.)

On the advancement of Mr. Aikin to the divinity chair, Rev. Joseph Priestley was appointed tutor for languages and *belles lettres*. He was born 13th March, 1733, in the neighbourhood of Leeds ; studied at the academy at Daventry ; settled at Needham Market, Suffolk, in 1755 ; and removed in 1758 to Nantwich, Cheshire. He had already given much attention to chemistry and the then incipient science of electricity ; and during his six years' tutorship at Warrington he published a treatise on the latter topic which gained him a fellowship of the Royal Society and the degree of LL.D. from Edinburgh university. In 1767 he accepted a call to Mill Hill chapel, Leeds ; and his subsequent career forms a part of the history of science, and of the nation. He left Leeds to become literary companion to Lord Shelburne, with whom he travelled on the continent, and about 1780 settled as a minister in Birmingham. He still pursued the study of natural science, and revolutionized chemistry by his discovery of oxygen.

"His labours in other fields of knowledge—mental philosophy, religion, and politics—were prodigious and fruitful." Latterly he abandoned Arianism for Socinianism, if not for a still more

advanced type of Unitarianism. But he must ever be held in honour, even by the most rigidly orthodox, as an uncompromising champion of civil and religious liberty. By this he excited the wrath of a Tory mob, who in 1791 burned his house and destroyed his library, etc., and his life was in serious danger. After a short residence in Hackney, therefore, he went to America, where he died in 1805.

Soon after the death of Dr. Taylor the trustees determined to remove the academy to more commodious premises. In 1762 a common hall and library were built in an eligible situation—off Butter Market Street—with two good houses for Messrs. Priestley and Holt, Dr. Aikin being accommodated with a third house in the neighbourhood. But difficulties now began, which, though bravely faced, constantly increased until the final catastrophe. An initial error had been the non-publication of an annual balance-sheet, and by this time there was a serious falling off in the subscriptions. An energetic “whip round” led to some improvement, but it was only temporary. A junior department, for boys under 14, was instituted; with Mr. Benjamin Stapp, divinity student, as “sub-tutor”; but after two or three years the experiment was abandoned as a failure. This might have been foreseen; for the discipline suited to boys and that suited to young men are by no means identical.

Next, an endeavour was made to attract lay students by the appointment of a foreign gentleman as professor of modern languages. This was Mr. John Reinhold Forster, a German scholar and naturalist. He was born at Dirschau in December, 1729, had been a minister, held some unspecified appointment in Russia, and came to England “on speculation” in 1766. “His total want of economy

made it impossible for the trustees to keep him long." He "tried various projects," obtained the degree of LL.D. at Oxford, sailed with Captain Cook as naturalist on his second voyage, quarrelled with his colleagues, became professor of Natural History at Halle, and died in 1798. After the dismissal of Mr. Reinhold, several attempts were made to obtain a satisfactory substitute, but none were permanently successful. Of those who temporarily occupied the post only two need be mentioned: M. Fantin Latour, who also sailed with Captain Cook in 1772; and one Mara or Le Maitre. The latter proved a worthless character, who was convicted of larceny at Oxford, and afterwards imprisoned for debt at Bristol. One who relieved him there, and was in Paris in 1792, believed that he identified him in the person of the infamous Jean Paul Marat; but the identity is not fully established. After his departure the trustees engaged a Mr. Hulme, who had resided in France, to teach French *and fencing* to those who desired it.

The students had, from the first, been boarded in the tutors' houses; but about 1766 or-7 the trustees resolved to build a range of apartments for their accommodation, connecting the tutors' houses with the common hall, and forming a quadrangle of a handsome collegiate appearance. In connection with this new departure, Mr. Seddon, who had been secretary to the institution from the first, was constituted *Rector Academiae*; his duty in this capacity being to superintend the discipline and morals of the students, report irregularities, and administer necessary admonitions or reprimands. He also undertook to give lectures on Grammar, Oratory, and History. But scarcely was half the building scheme completed, and a considerable debt thereby incurred, when it

became necessary to get rid of Mr. Forster. And a few months later, on 12th January, 1770, Mr. Seddon died of apoplexy.

He was succeeded, both as pastor and rector, by the Rev. Wm. Enfield, LL.D., who also gave instruction in history, languages, and *belles lettres*. He was born at Sudbury, 29th March, 1741, educated at Daventry, and ordained as pastor of the Unitarian congregation, Liverpool, in November, 1763. He had considerable learning, and as a teacher left little to be desired. But his amiable disposition and pleasing manners were an inadequate substitute for the tact and firmness that were urgently needed for the maintenance of discipline, among such a heterogeneous company as the Warrington students were at this time. There were some, says the historian in the *Monthly Repository*, "who had no particular interest in the credit and success of the institution." Among these are indicated "the profligate outcast of our great public schools, who had learned all the evil, without any of the good, of those establishments, and was sent hither as a last resort," and "the pampered petling of large fortune, who, from the treatment he had been allowed to give to his private tutor at home, had learned to consider every tutor as a sort of upper servant." Worse still, there were several young men from the West Indies who were thoroughly demoralized by their association with slavery, "whose pastime it had been to sport with human sufferings." With such elements of disorder Dr. Enfield was incompetent to deal; and we read a few years later of extravagant practical jokes played by students on the townspeople, such as must have caused them to be regarded as a public nuisance. From this time onward the decline of the academy was rapid and inevitable. On 30th

April, 1772, John Wesley preached at Warrington. He writes: "I believe all the young gentlemen of the Academy were there: to whom I stated and proved the use of reason from those words of St. Paul: 'In wickedness be ye children, but in understanding be ye men.'"

Mr. Holt died in 1772. He was succeeded as mathematical tutor by the Rev. Geo. Walker, F.R.S. He was born at Newcastle in 1735, and studied under Dr. Rotheram at Kendal, and also at the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. He was minister at Durham (1757-61) and Yarmouth (1761-72). He only remained at Warrington two years, when he removed to Nottingham. He died in London 27th April, 1807. On his departure the trustees found themselves "quite unequal to the offering of an adequate salary to a successor." Dr Enfield therefore, in addition to his other labours, "undertook the arduous duties of mathematical tutor," while Dr. Aikin relieved him of logic and the higher classics. Indeed, the entire management rested with them from 1774 to 1778. In the latter year Dr. Aikin's health began to fail, and the Rev. Pendlebury Houghton, who was just leaving the academy, was engaged as assistant tutor for a year. He was the son of a minister at Hyde; and after leaving Warrington held successive pastorates at Dob Lane, Shrewsbury, Norwich, Westminster, and Liverpool. He died 3rd April, 1824. The eminent classical scholar and critic, Gilbert Wakefield, B.A., who had lately receded from the Established Church on conscientious grounds—having become an advanced Unitarian—was engaged as classical tutor in 1779, and so continued till the end.

Dr. Aikin died on 14th December, 1780. By this time it would seem that the prevailing sentiment was more definitely Unitarian than in

Priestley's days. The Rev. Nicholas Clayton, D.D., "unfortunately for himself" submitted to be noninated divinity tutor in 1781. He was born at Enfield in 1733; studied under Dr. Doddridge, and (it is believed) at Daventry; and completed his training at Glasgow university. He was for some years minister at Boston, Lincolnshire, and afterwards in Liverpool. As colleague with Dr. Enfield and Mr. Wakefield he did his best; but the situation was hopeless. Dr. Enfield was weary of the incessant struggle against insubordination, and desired to be relieved of the rectorship. The Rev. Thos. Belsham of Daventry is said to have been spoken of as divinity tutor, but he had not yet advanced beyond Arianism, and deemed himself too orthodox for Warrington. And at length, at a full meeting of the trustees held 29th June, 1786, it was decided to close the academy.

Dr. Clayton returned, with broken spirits and shattered health, to Liverpool; and afterwards became colleague with his old friend and fellow student the Rev. Geo. Walker, at Nottingham; whence he retired, and died in Liverpool on 20th May, 1797. Dr. Enfield removed to Norwich, where he died on 3rd November, 1797. He was a voluminous writer on many topics, divinity, philosophy, and education. His *History of Liverpool*, and his *Abridgment of Bruker's History of Philosophy*, were long highly esteemed; and *Enfield's Speaker* was, according to temperament, a delight or a terror to several generations of school boys. Mr. Wakefield led an eventful life as scholar, controversialist, and political prisoner; and died in London, on 9th September, 1801, in his 46th year.

The Warrington library was transferred to a new institution which was within a short time founded at Manchester, and is now represented by Manchester College, Oxford.

From first to last 393 students received either the whole or part of their education at Warrington. Of these 22 either *came from* or *went to* the West Indies. Of the whole number, 21 followed the profession of medicine, 24 that of law, 18 went into the army, about 100 into trade, and 55 were divinity students, 20 of them aided from the Presbyterian Fund. Of these last the majority became ministers, mostly of Unitarian congregations, but 13 conformed to the Established Church, and one became a bishop. A complete list may be found in the *Monthly Repository* for 1814. It is therefore only necessary here to name those who were most conspicuous.

- 1757 : 1 Thomas Percival, M.D., Warrington and Manchester.
 1758 : 12 John Aikin, M.D., son of the Classical Tutor.
 " 14 Thomas Astley : Un. Minister at Chesterfield.
 1759 : 33 William Howell : Un. Minister and tutor at Swansea.
 " 34 John Palmer : Un. Min. at Macclesfield & Birmingham.
 " 35 Nathaniel Cotton : Rector of Thornby, Northants.
 1760 : 44 Isaac Cookson : Sheriff of Newcastle, 1777.
 " 47 Benjamin Stapp : Assistant tutor ; Un. Minister at Shrewsbury.
 1761 : 53 Edmund Calamy : Lawyer ; Grandson of Dr. Calamy the historian.
 " 60 John Colquitt : Lawyer ; town clerk of Liverpool.
 " 61 Thomas Potter : Merchant in Manchester.
 " 62 Philip Taylor : Un. Minister at Liverpool and Dublin.
 " 63 Edward Rigby : Surgeon at Norwich.
 " 65 Philip Keag : Abbot's Bromley : high sheriff of Staffordshire, 1780.
 1762 : 75 Thomas Whitehead : vicar of Preston.
 1763 : 81 Sir James Carnegy, Southesk.
 " 83 Sir James Ibbetson, Bt., Otley, Yorks.
 " 87 Ralph Harrison : Un. Minister at Shrewsbury and Manchester.
 1764 : 89 Thomas Barnes : Un. Minister at Cockey Moor and Manchester.
 " 93 John Milnes : Merchant at Wakefield.
 " 106 Robert Dukinfield : Surgeon to 2nd troop of Horse Guards.
 1765 : 108 Ralph Eddowes : Merchant in Chester ; afterwards leader among Unitarians in America.

- 1765 : 114 Philip Meadows Martineau : Surgeon at Norwich.
 " 116 Samuel Crompton : Banker at Derby and York.
 " 118 John Prior Estlin : Un. Minister at Bristol.
 " 122 William Hare, afterwards Lord Ennismore.
- 1766 : 137 Francis Blackburne : Vicar of Brignall, Yorks.
 " 139 Benjamin Vaughan : M.P. and diplomatist ; afterwards
 resided in America.
 " 141 Robert Gore : Un. Minister in Manchester.
 " 142 W. J. Glanville : Agent for the colony of Barbadoes.
 " 143 James Cappe : Colonel in the East India Company's
 service.
- 1767 : 149 Rochemont Barbauld : Unit. Minister in London ;
 husband of Anna Laetitia Aikin.
 " 150 Henry Beaufoy, F.R.S. ; M.P. for Minehead and
 Yarmouth.
 " 151 George Willoughby ; 17th and last Lord Willoughby
 of Parham.
 " 158 George Forster ; Son of Dr. J. R. Forster ; accom-
 panied his father with Captain Cook ; professor at
 Cassel, Wilna, and Mentz.
 " 165 Samuel Heywood ; sergeant at law and judge ; strenu-
 ous defenders of religious liberty.
- 1768 : 169 Isaac Bough : Secretary to the Supreme Court at
 Calcutta.
 " 171 Samuel Galton : Merchant in Birmingham, quaker
 and public benefactor.
 " 174 Robert Alderson : Unit. min. at Norwich ; afterwards
 conformed, became a high-churchman, and Recorder
 of Ipswich.
 " 175 Francis Pierson : Major in the 95th regiment ; killed
 in defence of Jersey, 6th January, 1781.
 " 179 James Pilkington : minister at Ipswich and Derby.
 " 180 Joseph Smith : Unit. minister at Shrewsbury and
 Liverpool.
 " 182 John Leaper, afterwards Newton ; Norton House,
 Derbyshire.
 " 186 Archibald Hamilton Rowan : Irish politician, friend
 of Napper Tandy.
- 1770 : 189 William Cookson, D.D. : rector of Forncett, Norfolk ;
 canon of Windsor.
 " 190 — Addison ; killed in the battle of Bunker's Hill,
 1775.
 " 194 Caleb Hillier Parry, M.D. : physician at Bath.
- 1771 : 209 Sir William Strickland, Bt. ; Boynton, Yorks.
 " 210 Strickland Freeman ; Fawley Court : Spirited im-
 prover of agriculture.

- 1772 : 220 John Vaughan : Merchant in Philadelphia ; Unitarian preacher.
- " 224 William Warren : Country gentleman residing near Cork.
- " 236 John Heywood : Barrister ; active magistrate at Wakefield.
- 1773 : 239 William Adair ; served in the army ; afterwards country gentleman in Co. Durham.
- " 240 Pendlebury Houghton : assistant tutor (*see above*).
- 1774 : 246 — Bordley : pupil of B. West the historical painter.
- " 247 Newman Knowlys : Common serjeant of the City of London.
- 1774 : 253 John Doddridge Humphrey, grandson of Dr. Doddridge, attorney at Tewkesbury.
- 1775 : 257 Boyle Moody : minister at Newry.
- " 258 Robert Jackson : minister somewhere in Ireland.
- " 263 Richard Anthony Markham (afterwards Salisbury), F.L.S., Leeds and Mill Hill : eminent Botanist.
- " 272 John Ritchie : Major in the 91st regiment ; killed at St. Vincents, 1795
- 1776 : 274 George Frederick Parry : lawyer, died at Surinam.
- " 276 Adam Inglis ; son of Sir John Inglis of Cramond : Advocate.
- 1777 : 280 William Turner : Unit. minister at Newcastle.
- " 281 Sir Benjamin Dunbar, Bt., of Hempriggs, Caithness.
- " 282 Philip Holland, M.D. : physician at Hull.
- " 284 Edward Chorley, M.D. : practitioner at Doncaster.
- " 285 John Harrison : Unit. min. at Lancaster and Kendal.
- " 287 William Sneyd : Several years in the army ; afterwards farmer in Staffordshire.
- " 294 Nathaniel Alexander : Bishop of Clonfert, Ireland.
- " 298 Edward Corry ; brother to the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer.
- " 300 Honbl. Archibald Hamilton Cathcart : rector of Kippax, Yorks.
- " 301 Joseph Cookson : went into the army ; well known on the turf.
- " 302 William Bruce, D.D. : Minister at Lisburn, Dublin, and Belfast.
- 1778 : 303 Samuel Shore ; country gentleman in Derbyshire : conspicuous Unitarian.
- " 304 Samuel Yate Benyon : Attorney General for the County of Chester.
- " 305 Sir Hugh Munro, of Foulis Castle, Rossshire.
- " 307 James Clerk : Advocate, and Sheriff of Co. Edinburgh.
- " 314 Nathaniel Hibbert : Minister at Rivington, Lanc.

- 1778 : 317 Henry Laurens ; son of a distinguished American statesman and diplomatist.
- " 322 John Goodricke ; deaf and dumb, yet became a fair classical scholar, an excellent mathematician, and made important astronomical discoveries : died 1785.
- 1779 : 330 William Hawkes : Unitarian minister in Manchester.
- " 331 Mark Anthony Whyte : barrister, and county magistrate in Staffordshire.
- " 332 Charles Joseph Harford ; barrister ; friend of Burke, with whom he seceded from the Whig Club in 1792.
- " 334 Samuel Gaskell : Merchant at Warrington.
- " 335 Bohun Shore : Major in the 4th Dragoons.
- 1780 : 353 Astley Mennley : Minister at Prescott, Smarber Hall, and Stannington.
- " 356 John Coates : Unit. minister at Birmingham and Southwark.
- " 362 Philip Humphreys : brother to No. 253, followed the same profession.
- 1781 : 378 Richard Enfield : town clerk of Nottingham.
- " 380 Peter Crompton, M.D. ; physician near Liverpool ; zealous advocate of Parliamentary Reform.
- " 381 Thomas Percival : son of No. 1 ; Conformed ; Chaplain to the British factory at St. Petersburg.
- " 382 Walter Michall Moseley : Country gentleman in Worcestershire ; wrote an elaborate *Treatise on Archery*.
- " 389 John Wedgewood ; banker : eldest son of the eminent improver of pottery.
- " 390 Thomas Robert Malthus, F.R.S. : Author of the celebrated *Essay on Population*.

T. G. CRIPPEN.

Hon. Members marked *H*, Life Members marked *L*.

- Andover-Harvard Theological
 Ashworth, W., Esq. [Seminary.
 Astbury, F. T., Rev.
 Avery, John, Esq., F.S.S.
 Ballinger, J., Esq., M.A.
 Baptist Union, The
 Barber, Harry, Esq.
 Barrett, Geo., Rev., A.T.S.
 Bartlet, J. V., Rev. Prof., M.A.
 Bax, A. Ridley, Esq., F.S.A.
 Beaumont, E., Esq.
 Birmingham Public Library.
 Boag, G. W., Esq.
 Briggs, T., Esq.
H Brown, W. H., Esq.
 Brown, J., Rev. Dr., B.A.
 Brownen, G., Esq.
 Burrage, Champlin, Esq., M.A., B.Litt
 Bull, Miss E. L.
 Bull, F. W., Esq., F.S.A.
 Cater, F. Ives, Rev., A.T.S.
 Clark, J. H., Esq., J.P.
 Clarkson, W. F., Rev., B.A.
 Claydon, Geo. S., Esq.
 Cleal, E. E., Rev.
 Cobb, W. H., Esq.
 Cocks, J., Esq.
 Colligan, J. H., Rev., M.A.
 Crippen, T. G., Rev.
 Dale, Sir Alfred, M.A., LL.D.
 Darlow, T. H., Rev., M.A.
 Davies, J. Alden, Rev.
 Davies, S. S., Miss
 Davy, A. J., Esq.
 Dawson, E. B., Esq.
 Dimelow, J. G., Esq.
 Dixon, H. N., Esq., M.A., F.L.S.
 Dixon, R. W., Esq.
 Dodd, C. H., Rev., M.A.
L Dore, S. L., Esq., J.P.
 Durant, W. F., Rev.
H Ebbs, A. B., Esq.
 Ebbs, W., Rev.
 Edridge, Alice, Miss
 Edridge, Emily, Miss
 Edridge, Fanny, Miss
 Evans, G. Eyre, Rev.
H Firth, C. H., Prof., M.A., LL.D.
 Fletcher, Joseph, Esq.
 Flower, J. E., Rev., M.A.
 Ford, Gerard N., Esq.
 Forsyth, P. T., Rev. Dr.
 Galloway, Sydney V., Esq.
 Gordon, Principal A., M.A.
 Gosling, Howard, Esq.
 Grice, T. E., Esq.
 Grieve, A. J., Rev., M.A., B.D.
 Groser, W. H., Esq., B.Sc.
 Hall, W. H., Esq.
 Hanson, T. W., Esq.
 Harris, W. J., Esq.
 Harrison, G. W., Esq.
 Harwood, W. Hardy, Rev.
 Hawkins, F. H., Esq., LL.B.
 Hayward, T., Esq.
 Henderson, A. D., Esq.
 Hepworth, Frank N., Esq.
 Hepworth, J., Esq.
 Heslop, R. Oliver, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
 Hitchcock, W. M., Capt.
 Holt, Edwyn, Esq.
 Hopper, A. E., Esq.
L Hounson, W. A., Esq., J.P.
 James, Norman G. B., Esq.
 Johnson, F., Rev.
 Jones, A. G., Esq.
 Jones, E. D., Esq.
 Jones, F. H., Rev., M.A.
 Keep, H. F., Esq.
 Kennedy, James, Rev.
 Key, James, Rev.
 Kiek, E. S., Rev., M.A., B.D.
 King, Jos, Esq., M.A.
H Lancashire Independent College.
 Leader, R. E., Esq.
 Lewis, D. Morgan, Prof., M.A.
 Lewis, H. Elvet, Rev., M.A.
 Lewys-Lloyd, E., Esq.
 Livesey, D. T., Esq.
 Lloyd, J. E., Prof., M.A.
 Longstaff, J. P., Esq., D.Sc.
 Lovatt, J., Esq.
 Macfadyen, D., Rev., M.A.
 Manchester College, Oxford.
 Massey, Stephen, Esq.
 Massie, Dr. John
 May, H. A., Esq.
 McClure, Sir J. D.
 McDonold, John, Esq., J.P.
 Merriam, Chas. P., Esq., J.P.
 Micklem, N., Esq., M.A.
 Mottram, W., Rev.
 Mumford, A. A., Esq., M.D.
H New College, Hampstead.
 Newton Theol. Institution Library.
 Nichols, Jas., Esq.
 Nightingale, Dr. B., M.A.
H Palmer, C. Ray, Rev. Dr.
 Palmer, W. M., Esq.
 Parnaby, H., Rev., M.A.
 Pearson, H., Esq.
 Peel, A., Esq., M.A., B.Litt.
 Penberthy, John, Esq.
 Penney, Norman, Esq.

- Phillips, Maberley, Esq., F.S.A.
 Pierce, W., Rev.
 Pitt, Walter, Mrs.
 Powicke, F. J., Rev., M.A., Ph.D.
 Poynter, J. J., Rev.
 Price, C. T., Rev.
 Pugh, Mrs.
 Rawcliffe, Edwin B., Rev.
 Reavell, G., Esq.
 Reed, E. P. S., Esq.
 Robinson, W., Rev.
 Rollason, Arthur A., Esq.
 Rylands Library, The John
 Scamell, J. W., Rev.
 Serle, S., Esq.
 Sharp, E. L., Miss
 Shaw, Joseph, Esq.
 Shillito, Dr. Hy.
 Silcock, P. Howard, Esq., B.A.
 Skinner, Mrs.
 Smith, Norman H., Rev.
 Stanier, W. H., Esq.
 Stevenson, J. G., Rev.
 Strickland, F., Esq.
 Sutton, C. W., Esq.
 Sykes, A. W., Esq.
 Taylor, C. J., Esq.
H Thacker, Fred. S., Esq.
- Thacker, Henry, Esq.
 Thomas, D. Lleufer, Esq.
 Thomas, Sir John
 Thomas, W., Rev.
 Thorpe, F. H., Esq.
 Titchmarsh, E. H., Rev., M.A.
H Toms, C. W., Esq.
 Turner, G. Lyon, Prof., M.A.
 U.S.A. Congress Library.
 United Yorkshire College.
 Vine, C. H., Rev., B.A.
 Viney, J. M., Esq.
 Wallis, R. B., Esq., J.P.
 Walmsley, L. S., Esq.
L Whitley, A. W., Esq.
 Whitley, W. T., Rev., LL.D.
 Whitebrook, J. C., Esq.
 Whitehouse, O. C., Rev., M.A., D.D.
 Wicks, G. H., Esq.
H Wilkinson, W., Esq.
 Williams, Mrs.
 Wilson, T., Esq., B.A.
 Windeatt, E., Esq.
 Winter, F. B., Esq.
 Wontner, A. J., Esq.,
 Woods, B., Esq.
 Woodall, H. J., Esq.
 Young, Hugh P., Rev.



Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

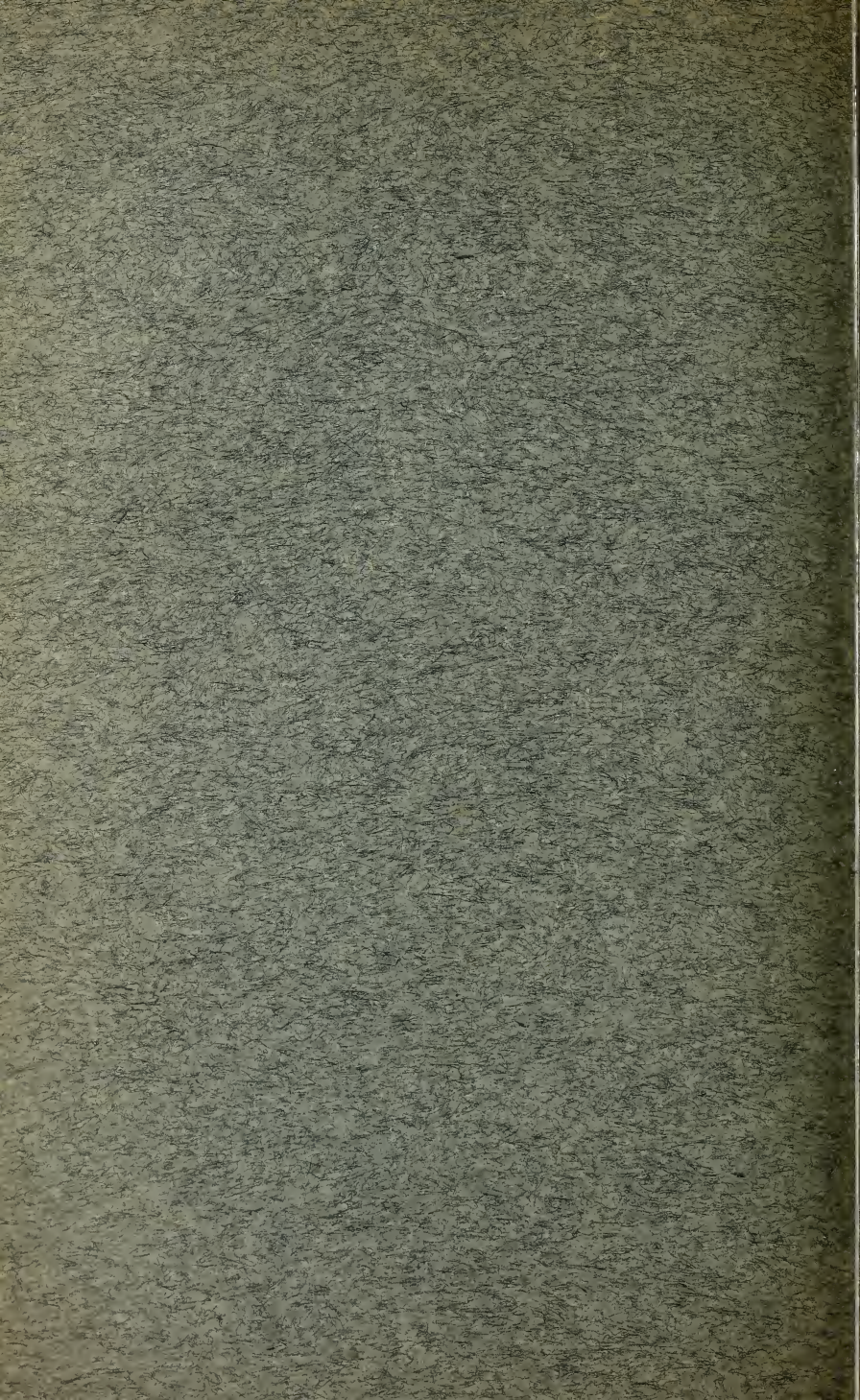
Vol. VI, No. 5]

[APRIL, 1915

Contents

Editorial - - - - -	289
Early Nonconformist Academies - -	291
The Surrey Mission - - - - -	297
An Antidote against the Contagious Air of Independency - - - - -	315
Henry Roote and the Congregational Church of Sowerby, near Halifax, 1645 -	327
Mr. T. W. Hanson	
From the Bury Street Church Records -	333
Puritanism in the Peak - - - - -	343
Abraham Caley - - - - -	351
The Origin of Nonconformity in Sheffield -	353
Mr. R. E. Leader	

May be obtained direct from the Book Saloon, Congregational Union of
England and Wales, Inc., Memorial Hall, London, E.C.



DATE MICROFILMED	
6 Aug 1990	
ITEM # <u>5</u>	
PROJECT and	G. S.
ROLL #	CALL #
X LIB8-102 1696 483	
#578	

Editorial

AMONG the many disarrangements caused by the war was that of the Autumnal Meetings of the Congregational Union; which should have been held at Bristol last October, but were of necessity abandoned. The same necessity operated on our own society. It is therefore the more desirable that we should have a numerous attendance at our forthcoming Annual Meeting.

* *

Our Annual Meeting will be held in the Council Room of the Memorial Hall, on Wednesday, 12th May, at 3 o'clock. A paper has been promised by the Rev. Dr. Grieve on "Congregationalism in Pembrokeshire." Proposals will be brought up for consideration respecting more direct co-operation with the Baptist Historical Society; these are regarded by the executive as of great importance.

* *

We rejoice to hear that a collected edition of the entire works of John Smyth of Gainsborough is in active preparation. Smyth, commonly called "the Se-Baptist," was remarkably unstable in his opinions, but absolutely sincere and unvaryingly conscientious; so that whenever he was convinced that his judgement had been at fault, he was ready frankly to own that he had been mistaken. He is best remembered as the protagonist of the English Baptists; but is still more worthy of honour as being among the first to assert the principle of Liberty of Conscience without restriction. Most of his writings are very scarce, and it is believed that no public or private library possesses a complete set. It is hoped that within a few months the whole will be accessible at a price of about two guineas.

* *

Mr. Peel informs us that his Calendar of the Morice MSS. is through the press, except the indexes. He hopes the book will be published before midsummer; but there may be a little delay.

* *

We are eagerly waiting for the *Survey of the Dissenting Interest*,

1691, which was discovered a year or two ago, and which the Rev. A. Gordon has been editing for the Trustees of the Presbyterian Fund. Probably the war is responsible for the delay of publication.

* *

A recent volume on *Dissenting Academies*, by Miss Irene Parker, M.A., supplies a real want. The author is especially insistent on the influence of the academies of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries on the general progress of education in England. The book is so good that we could wish it had been still better; which it might have been for some additional detail, and some account of the great public schools such as Mill Hill and Taunton. For it should be remembered that these, as well as the Nonconformist Divinity schools, are the legitimate descendants of academies like Rathmell and Sheriff Hales and Warrington.



REV. JAMES SCOTT.

Early Nonconformist Academies

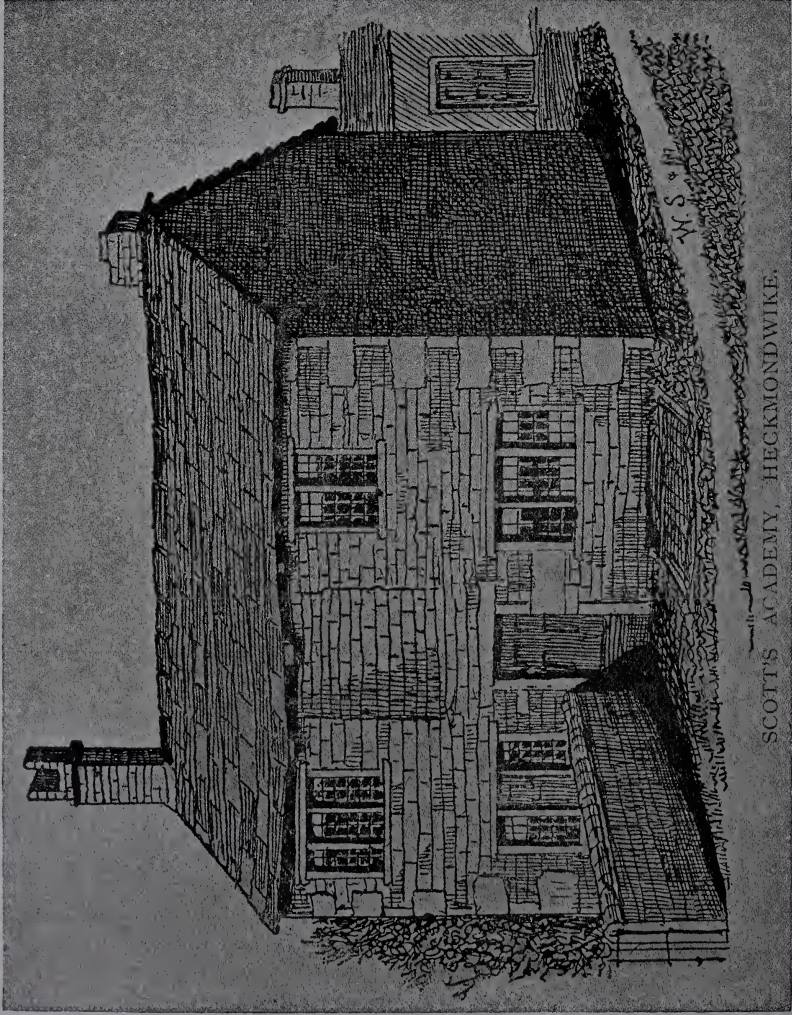
Heckmondwike and Northowram

BETWEEN 1720 and 1750 Arianism and Socinianism had made such progress in the north of England, that fully half the dissenting congregations in Yorkshire—including a majority of those in the larger towns—had departed from the faith of their fathers. Reflections on this state of affairs had long oppressed the mind of the Rev. James Scott, who had settled at Heckmondwike in 1754; and he had several conversations with the Rev. Edward Hitchin, B.D., of White's Row, London, who frequently visited his kinsfolk in the Yorkshire village. The result of these conversations was the forming in London, on 24th May, 1756, of "The Northern Education Society"; the aim of which is described as that of "dispelling the cloud of Socinian darkness then spreading over the northern counties of England . . . by which many congregations might be blessed with godly preachers, sound in the faith, and exemplary in their lives." It was resolved to set up and maintain an Academy in the north of England, to which they only should be admitted "who should give satisfactory evidence of personal piety, and who were ready to make a full declaration of evangelical sentiments." The word "evangelical" in this connection meant Calvinistic; as the Puritans of an earlier generation had dreaded Arminianism as "a half-way house to Popery," so their representatives of that day—notwithstanding the counter-evidence al-

ready afforded by the incipient Methodist Revival—dreaded it as a half-way house to Unitarianism.

The officers of the Northern Education Society were the Rev. John Guyse, D.D., chairman; E. Webbe, Esq., treasurer; the Rev. E. Hitchin, secretary. To these latter succeeded in due course W. Fuller, Esq., banker, as treasurer, and John Gibson, Esq., as secretary. Mr. Hitchin, who from the first had thought of his friend Scott as a suitable tutor, was soon authorized to invite him to that post. Scott, somewhat doubtful of his qualifications for the twofold office of pastor and tutor, consulted with the church, took time for consideration, and finally accepted. He also gave an explicit statement of his doctrinal position, which was "in general accordance with the Westminster and Savoy Confessions."

James Scott was a native of Berwickshire, born in 1710. He entered the university of Edinburgh in the session of 1728-9, but does not appear to have graduated. Piously disposed from his youth, at the age of 20 he committed to writing a solemn Act of Self-dedication, which an ardent admirer a hundred years later described as "too precise and puritanical in its views of Christian duty and of abstraction from the world." If this was an error, it was at least an error on the safer side. After spending some years as a private tutor he learned that many congregations in England were in urgent need of evangelical pastors. He therefore crossed the border, bearing with him satisfactory certificates of character and conduct. In 1739 he took charge of a village congregation at Stainton, near Kendall. Thence he removed to Horton-in-Craven, a small hamlet in the parish of Gisburn, where he was ordained on 20th May, 1741. In 1751 he removed to Tockholes, about three miles from Blackburn; and thence in 1754



SCOTT'S ACADEMY, HECKMONDWIKE.

to Heckmondwike, now a town of 10,000 population, but then a rural village.

The academy was commenced before the end of 1756. Its seat was a modest looking house, still (or lately) standing at Southfield, which was Mr. Scott's own residence. Here for more than 26 years he carried on, single-handed, the two-fold office of tutor and pastor; the latter including the building of a new chapel in 1761.

The following list of the Heckmondwike students is approximately complete :

- 1756 Thomas Waldegrave, Tockholes, Bury St. Edmunds.
Thomas Priestley, Jewin Street, London (brother of Dr. Jos. Priestley).
- 1757 Richard Plumbe, Nottingham.
Abram Allott, Forton (Lancashire).
Joseph Popplewell, Beverley.
- 1762 James Tetley, junr., Sowerby.
Thomas Gurnall, Delph.
— Tunstall.
- 1763 Luke Pratman, Hopton, Cotherstone, Barnard Castle.
- 1765 George Lambert, Hull.
Jonathan Toothill, Hopton.
William Armitage, Heaton, Delph, Chester.
- 1766 James Dawson, Cleckheaton.
— Offwood, London.
Robert Galland, Ilkeston, Holmfirth.
Thomas M. Linnett, Oakham.
- 1767 Thomas Brook, Stockport.
- 1769 John Clegg, Horton in Craven, Sunderland.
Robert Shufflebottom, Bungay.
John Carter, Mattishall, East Dereham.
Samuel Bottomley, Scarbro'.
- 1770 Charles Crow, North Walsham.
Joseph Scott, Hinckley.
Thomas Ashburn, Gloucester.
— Whitehead, Charlesworth.
— Pickersgill, "Near London."
- James Grimshaw, South Cave, Tockholes, Forton.
- 1771 George Gill, Market Harborough.
Samuel Walker, Northowram (pastor and tutor).
— Hollingworth—declined the ministry.
William Northend, Haslingden, Bridlington, Brighouse.

- 1772 Thomas Grundie, Leicester.
 John Sykes, Guestwick.
 David Bruce, Liverpool.
 — Pickles, America.
 Isaac Sharp, St. Helens.
 — Spencer.
 Joseph Cockin, Kipping, Halifax.
- 1775 Richard Wearing, Lowestoft, Rendham, Walpole.
- 1776 William Sutcliff, Chapel-en-le-Frith.
 Noah Blackburn, South Cave, Tockholes, Delph.
 James Kenworthy, Kendal, Warrington, Horwich.
 James Unsworth, ?if Ulverstone.
- 1777 Josias Rhodes, New York.
 — Hogg, Thrapstone.
- 1779 James Stevenson, Trowbridge.
 Robert Simpson, D.D., Haslingden, Elswick, Bolton,
 Hoxton College.
 — Wilby, Durham.
 Samuel Bruce, Great Grimsby, Wakefield.
 Nathaniel Scholefield, Brighouse, Henley, Over.
 Robert Smith, Leek, Nantwich.
 Joshua Wilkinson, Howden.
 William Tapp, South Cave.
 — Bartlett, Malton (afterwards Unitarian).
 Henry Townsend, Cockermouth, Darwen.
 William Hudson, Tintwistle.
 — Snell, Grimsby.
- *John Toothill, Booth, Rainford.
 — Houlton, Saffron Walden.
 Timothy Senior, Elswick.
 — Wood, declined the ministry.
 — Kirkby, Creek.
 John Dawson, Keyworth.
 Thomas Whiteley, Tockholes.
 Thomas Laird, Keighley, Pudsey.
 — Plumber, Whitby.
 William Peele, Workington.

Early in the course of Mr. Scott's pastorate a "double lecture" was instituted, probably in imitation of the "prophesyings" which were familiar to our Puritan forefathers. This was ostensibly associated with the anniversary of the academy; there is a tradition that Mr. Scott designed it as "an annual Visitors' Day, so that

the studies might not be interfered with." However this may have been, the "Heckmondwike Lecture" attained to such popularity—the sermons being usually preached by men of eminence—that at length "a minister was scarcely accredited until he had passed the ordeal of preaching the Heckmondwike Lecture." When other churches grew up in the rapidly increasing town, they also participated in the services; and matters affecting the general interest of the churches were discussed at the dinner that followed. In course of time the concourse developed into a fair, which continued for many years, railway passengers being conveyed thither at reduced rates.

Mr. Scott was not a man of extensive erudition; but had the reputation of "a profound divine and a masterly expositor." None of his students gained eminence for learning, but many were earnest pastors and zealous evangelists. Under his direction the academy was of incalculable service in promoting evangelical revival. "Through the agency of his students many new congregations arose in places where evangelical religion had become extinct: in other cases a fresh air of gospel truth was breathed over bodies which had become lifeless and corrupt." He died on 11th January, 1783.

Arrangements were at once made for the transference of the students whose course was not complete to the tuition of the Rev. Samuel Walker of Northowram—himself one of Scott's pupils. Accordingly the academy was translated thither, a distance of about seven miles, in 1783; the students affected being those from * downward on the foregoing list. Those who received the whole of their training from Mr. Walker were as follows:

Samuel Lyndall, Bridlington, London.

- Wass, died while a student.
- Tomlinson, died while a student.
- Brettel, Gainsborough.
- Maurice, Fetter Lane (London).

Samuel Crowther, Clare, Oulton.

William Vint, Idle : pastor and tutor.

- Hindle, Haslingden.

Benjamin Sowden, Horton and Holden.

- Hollingworth, declined the ministry.
- Reyner, Bullhouse (Penistone).

Benjamin Boothroyd, D.D., Pontefract, Huddersfield.

James Smith, Gatley.

William Stirrett, Keighley.

- Crowther, Stockport.
- Laycock, America.

Jonas Hinchcliff, Booth, Haslingden, Allerton.

David Dewhirst, Keighley.

- Sugden, (occasional preacher at Whitby and York).
- Brown, died while a student.

Mr. Walker was, during the earlier years of his ministry at Northowram, a popular preacher ; but his popularity seems to have declined, and he relinquished his pastorate in 1792. He retained his tutorship, however, till 1795, when, for some reason which has never been publicly explained, he lost the confidence of the Northern Education Society. The academy was therefore discontinued. There were at the time four students in residence ; of whom two were sent to complete their studies under the Rev. Wm. Vint at Idle, and two to the incipient academy at Rotherham. These students were :

(To Idle.) Thomas Taylor, Osset and Bradford.

„ Charles Ely, Bury.

(To Rotherham.) Joseph Batley, Marple Bridge.

„ Abraham Hudswell, Bingley, Morley.

Mr. Walker died about a year after the closing of the academy.

The Surrey Mission

IT is not easy to realize the moral and religious aspect of rural England in the closing years of the eighteenth century. The ignorance of the labouring class was such as in these days it is difficult to imagine, until we remember that Bell and Lancaster had not yet commenced their educational work; and though Sunday schools existed here and there, they were little favoured by the gentry, who feared that their subordinates might be less submissive if they were able to read. As late as 1845 an enquiry was made concerning educational provision in a rural area with a population of 160,000; where, out of 38,000 children of school age, less than 18,000 were receiving any kind of instruction, whether in superior, "British," "National," or Dame schools. Fifty years earlier, education for the children of rural labourers was simply non-existent.

Nor was the provision for religious instruction much better. Neither the Bible Society nor the Religious Tract Society had yet come into being. The old Dissent was respectably moribund; the dissenting churches for the most part had either drifted into Unitarianism, or—by way of protest—had fallen back on a rigid Calvinism which was unaggressive on principle. With a few noble exceptions, such as Berridge of Everton and Richmond of Turvey, the clergy of the Established Church were either "High and Dry" or "Low and Slow"; in either case unsympathetic towards any effort to stir those religious emotions which seem essential to a vigorous spiritual life. Where

the Methodist Revival had touched the hearts of the people a happier state of things prevailed. But throughout the whole south-east of England—the region marked off by the Thames and the New Forest—there were less than forty Methodist “preaching-houses,” though no doubt the itinerants and “local preachers” did much evangelistic work in barns and cottages and hired rooms. And the sect was “everywhere spoken against”: the Unitarians disapproved of them because they were Evangelical, the Calvinists because they were Arminian, and by far the greater part of the Episcopal clergy because they regarded them as a kind of spiritual poachers on the State Church manor.

In 1797 the county of Surrey, with its 141 parishes, had a population of about 265,000, including the metropolitan “borough” of Southwark. In the entire county there were only 33 Independent and Baptist chapels and 8 Methodist “preaching-houses”; to which may be added Surrey Chapel, the scene of the vigorous ministry of the Rev. Rowland Hill. In July of that year a circular letter was addressed to ministers and others in the county in the following terms :

“The subject of a County Mission having engaged the attention of a few ministers lately assembled at the house of Rev. Jas. Bowden, of Upper Tooting, it was thought advisable to circulate the following letter, with a view to obtain at a more general meeting the concurrence of other ministers and Christian friends in Surrey. At the same time it was agreed to hold such a meeting at Tooting on Tuesday, August 1st, 1797, when, after a public service at Rev. Jas. Bowden’s, the friends of the design will be requested to adjourn to the vestry for the further consideration of the subject. Divine Service to begin at 11 o’clock in the forenoon.”

It is not necessary to reproduce “the following letter” which accompanied the above, and which contained an outline of the scheme to be con-

sidered. It may suffice to set forth the "Fundamental Principle" on which the mission was constituted, and which was printed in every successive Annual Report :

"The Society knows no party ; it militates against nothing but sin and its powerful auxiliaries, ignorance and infidelity ; it seeks no interest but that of Christ and mankind ; it aims at uniting the talents, the zeal, the influence, and the labours of the friends of the gospel of every name."

The object for which this union was sought was "to promote the more extensive spread of the gospel in the county of Surrey"; and the methods proposed were: "Preaching, Establishing Schools, Distribution of Bibles, Tracts, etc."

The meeting was held according to announcement. Mr. Bowden preached from Luke xix, 10 ; and the Society was duly constituted. Funds were to be raised by subscriptions and annual collections. Donations of Bibles, "and of other books calculated to disseminate Evangelical truth," were invited. The ministers who subscribed, or otherwise gave their adhesion to the society, undertook to render personal service as far as other engagements might permit ; and "encouragement was to be given to such other approved ministers as may have it in their power to engage more expressly as missionaries under the direction of the society."

While the initiation of the movement was undoubtedly due to Mr. Bowden, he had the zealous co-operation of the Rev. Joseph Hughes, M.A., minister of a newly constituted Baptist church in Battersea. Mr. Hughes had been assistant tutor at the Baptist college at Bristol, and was in after years the indefatigable secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. While himself a convinced Baptist, he firmly maintained the principle that no article of belief should be

deemed necessary for Church membership which is not necessary for salvation. This principle was consistently maintained from first to last by the Surrey Mission.

The first committee of the mission consisted of the Revs. Jas. Bowden (Tooting), Jos. Hughes (Battersea), Golding (Croydon), Ready, and Pewtress; together with Messrs. Banwell, Burberry, Davis, G. Evans, P. Evans, Furze, Humphrey, Nokes, and Whitwer. Mr. Davis was treasurer, and Mr. Bowden secretary. It was at first arranged that meetings should be held quarterly at approved places, where sermons should be preached by some of the associated ministers. The first meeting was to be at Brockham Green, near Dorking, where a Mr. Abel was minister, but of what denomination is not stated. Subsequently the meetings were held half yearly.

Of the operations of the mission during the first twenty years information is very scanty, no complete file of reports having been preserved. A few facts have been gleaned from notices in the *Evangelical Magazine*, and from other sources.

On 3rd January, 1798, an interesting service was held at Mr. Hughes's meeting-house, Battersea. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Messrs. Ready, Upton, and Hughes, and addresses were delivered by the Revs. J. Bowden and — Golding. Messrs. Pewtress and Exell were formally commissioned as itinerant preachers under the direction of the Society, a Bible being ceremonially presented to each of them. It is not clear whether this was regarded as an "ordination"; no mention is made of any Imposition of Hands, and the names do not appear in the list of Ordinations in the Index of the *Evangelical Magazine*.

At Godalming a dissenting church had existed with varying fortunes since the Indulgence of

1672 ; and a meeting-house had been built in 1729 or 30. But the interest had grievously declined ; and the aged minister dying in 1799, the cause was taken charge of by the Surrey Mission. This arrangement continued for some time, after which it was supplied by students from Homerton.

During 1799 the celebrated essayist John Foster was on a visit to Mr. Hughes at Battersea. In a letter to a friend at Bristol he wrote :

“ I have preached in several of the suburbs, and made a journey of perhaps 40 miles into the country, to preach to heathens at one place in a sort of coal-hole, and to good plain saints at another in a little shop. I stood behind the counter, and some of the candles hanging above touched my wig. I should extremely like to preach in this style every day in the week. This was not a casual adventure of my own ; there has been for some time past a regular plan, which they call a mission, in which a considerable number of preachers are employed to go round the county to obscure places, where the gospel scarcely ever went before, to establish a kind of religious posts.”

We have no definite information as to the particular villages in which Messrs. Pewtress and Exell itinerated. Indeed, from 1800 to 1810 there are—so far as we can discover—no records of the Society’s operations. Evangelistic efforts appear to have been made in the district around Oxted, but for a time without success, no regular meeting-place being available. At length a farmer granted the use of his kitchen, and his daughter was one of the first converts. The attendance now increased so that more space became necessary : and in 1811 a small chapel, accommodating 200 persons, was opened on 5th June. The following year the Rev. S. A. Dubourg was placed in charge of the station, and commenced a long and fruitful ministry. In 1813 a church was formed of 13 members, which eight years later had increased to 46.

Mr. Bowden, the originator of the mission, died suddenly on 5th April, 1812, and was succeeded as secretary by the Rev. Thos. Jackson of Stockwell.

In 1814 we find the Rev. C. Smith evangelizing at Charlwood and Capel, in the extreme south of the county; and a little later the Rev. J. R. Gayton has his headquarters now at Woking and now at Cobham: this indefatigable evangelist visited no less than 26 villages and hamlets, scattered over an area about 10 miles square.

From 1820 the records of the mission are fairly complete. At the 23rd Annual Meeting, held in that year, reports were received from Mr. Dubourg at Oxted, the Rev. Jas. Churchill at Esher, the Rev. C. Smith at Charlwood, and the Rev. J. R. Gayton at Woking. The committee this year consisted of 22 ministers and 18 lay brethren: among the former were the Revs. Rowland Hill, Jos. Hughes, Geo. Clayton, W. B. Collyer, J. Townsend, J. Hoby, and others whose names are less familiar. The Rev. T. Jackson was still secretary, and Thos. Hayter, Esq., of Brixton, treasurer. The income for the year was £193 6s. 7d.

During the year a schoolroom was built at Oxshott, the work there being superintended by the Rev. Jas. Churchill. As evidence of the esteem in which Mr. Churchill was held by persons of high rank, it is recorded that either at the laying of the foundation or at the opening of the room (accounts differ), the Duchess of Kent and Prince Leopold—afterwards King of Belgium—were present. After this date Esher no longer appears as a station in the mission reports; but Mr. Churchill continued to minister in the district with much success for 24 years longer.

In 1821 chapels were built at Ewhurst, Gomsball, and Tilford. At this time, too, we first find

mention of a chapel at Bletchingley, though from the terms of the reference it must have existed some years earlier. The annual meeting, held at Kingston on 16th October, was signalized by the ordination of the Rev. J. V. Widgery, from the Hackney Academy, as County missionary. The Rev. John Whitehouse of Dorking received the confession, the Rev. M. Wilks of Tottenham Court Road offered the Ordination Prayer, the Rev. G. Collison of the Academy delivered the Charge: the Revs. S. Percy of Guildford, J. Jackson of Stockwell, J. Townsend of Bermondsey, and R. Davies of Walworth also took part in the service. The Society now had five agents, preaching more or less regularly in about 50 villages, in many of which "great readiness to hear" was reported.

In 1822 chapels were built at Pain's Hill in the parish of Limpsfield and at Worplesden. A schoolroom was also rented at Elstead. During this year the regular stations were as follows :

OXTED : Rev. S. A. Dubourg ; Bletchingley, Nutfield, Pain's Hill, Tandridge, Tilbister Hill, Tyler's Green, and Westerham (Kent).

COBHAM and WOKING : Rev. J. R. Gayton ; Chilworth, Claygate, Hook, Horsley, Oxshot, Shere, Shalford, Wooton.

SHERE : Rev. J. V. Widgery ; Broadmoor, Ewhurst, Goms-hall, Normandy, Peaslake, Pitland Street, and occasionally Hambledon and Wallis Wood.

CHARLWOOD : Rev. C. Smith ; Capel, Horley, Redhill, and Crawley (Sussex).

At this time the Revs. J. Whitehouse and S. Percy were associated with the Rev. T. Jackson in the secretariat ; and thenceforward there were usually two or more secretaries. As the succession is somewhat complicated, it will be convenient to give the complete list at a later stage of the narrative.

In 1823 a chapel was fitted up at Frensham, and preaching was arranged for in a circuit comprising Ash, Compton, Elstead, Frensham, Headley, Little London, Mousehill, Tilford, and Tongham. The report of the following year states that the Society had four itinerants wholly employed, and others partly supported. These agents preached regularly in 25 villages, having an aggregate population of 20,000.

In 1825 chapels were built at Normandy and Felday. The income of the mission this year was £438 15s. 3d.; but there was an accumulated deficit of about £300, which was cleared by a special effort before the end of the following year.

The minister at Godalming having been compelled by failing health to retire in 1826, that church came again under the care of the Mission. What arrangement was made is not clear; but there is a note to the effect that in 1827 the minister of Godalming preached at Hanscombe, Farncombe, Mousehill, and Newton. At the Annual Meeting of the society, held at Epsom on 14th October, 1827, the Rev. Benj. Haymes was ordained as pastor of Worplesden, with which the stations of Normandy and Flexford were associated. The Rev. T. Jackson received the confession of faith, the Rev. Matt. Wilks offered the Ordination Prayer, the Rev. G. Collison delivered the Charge (from 2 *Tim.* ii., 15); the Revs. S. Percy and J. Johnson also took part in the service, and the Rev. E. Steane preached in the evening.

Several notable changes are recorded in 1828. The Rev. S. A. Dubourg found it desirable to seek a less laborious pastorate than that which he had held for many years at Oxted, and removed to Marden in Kent. He was succeeded by the Rev. Edward Nicholls. From this station Bletchingley was now dissociated. The evangelist

in the Elstead district removed on account of ill-health; and his place was not immediately supplied. In this district Chert and Puttenham are named as preaching-places.

The report dated 31st March, 1829, gives a brief review of the spiritual condition of rural Surrey. It states that 22 villages were worked by agents of the Mission; that in 10 "the word of truth and salvation" is preached by evangelical clergymen of the Established Church; in 28 others there is evangelical preaching by itinerants or by neighbouring ministers; but there are 40 villages in the county practically destitute of effective religious instruction. In October of this year the Rev. W. Clarke was ordained as pastor at Godalming; and from that time onward the church there has—with but little interruption—continued to prosper. Mr. Clark preached in rotation at five villages: Farncombe, Crown Pitts, Mousehill, Eashing, and Brinscombe.

In 1830 Ewetre was added to the Oxted district, and the care of Bletchingley was resumed. The Broadmoor station in Shere district was discontinued. The income of the Society this year was £498 4s. 9d.

On 11th October, 1832, the Rev. E. Nicholls was ordained at Dorking as missionary in the county. Witley and Compton Common appear this year as new stations in the Godalming list. For about a year the Rev. T. Boaz ministered at Elstead and neighbouring villages as an agent of the Mission, and left in October, 1833, to engage in foreign service under the London Missionary Society. In after years he was widely and deservedly honoured as "Dr. Boaz of Calcutta." He was succeeded at Elstead by the Rev. S. Hillyard. It is worth noting that on the removal from this parish of the Rev. W. Jones, an evangelical

curate, the Mission congregation presented him with a Bible as a mark of esteem.

In this year the mission, in common with many other evangelical institutions, sustained a heavy loss in the death of the venerable Rowland Hill of Surrey Chapel, who died on 11th April in his 88th year. He was speedily followed by the Rev. Jos. Hughes, one of the founders of the Mission, and first Secretary of the Bible Society.

The report for 1834 seems to indicate some contraction of the field covered by the Mission; presumably because many villages were by this time evangelized by other agencies. The rural area now dealt with had a population of about 12,000; the Sunday congregations aggregated 2,000; the church members at the various stations were above 100, and the Sunday scholars above 500, with 52 teachers. In this year the Rev. C. Smith, who had laboured for many years at Charlwood and neighbouring villages, became pastor at Bletchingley, which then ceased to be a station of the Mission. The income of the Society for 1835 is given as £518 2s. 1d.

The report for 1836-7 mentions the adoption of a new station, comprising Sutton and Ewell. The chapel at Sutton had been erected in 1799, but had fallen on evil times: that at Ewell, opened in 1825, had been raised by the extraordinary zeal and self-denial of Mary Wallis (See *Trans.* iv. 27). The Mission agent was a Mr. White, who also preached in rooms at Ewell Marsh and Hook. A new chapel opened by the Home Missionary Society at Westerham rather depleted the congregation at Pain's Hill. Another new chapel was built at Wormley Hill, in the Godalming district; which on the removal to Canada of the Rev. W. Clark was transferred to the Elstead district. For some unexplained reason the Sunday services

were discontinued at Elstead and Frensham ; but weekday services were still maintained.

In April, 1838, it was reported that Mr. White of Ewell and Sutton had been succeeded by Mr. Barker. At Sutton there was a dilapidated and unsightly chapel, with a congregation of 30 or 40, and 10 church members. At Ewell there was no organized church, but a congregation of 60 or more, a Sunday school of 28, and an evening adult school of 26. The preaching at Hook had been discontinued, as an evangelical minister of the Established Church had settled there. In the Shere district there were services every Sunday and monthly communion at Ewhurst, Felday, and Gomshall, and new cottage meetings at Leith Hill Camp and Sutton. Three Sunday schools in the district aggregated above 100 scholars. In the Godalming district new preaching places had been opened at Farncombe and Thornton Street ; but the room at Eashing was no longer available. The church members at the several outstations together numbered 28. Mr. Clark had been succeeded by the Rev. Moses Caston.

Before the end of 1839 Mr. Caston had left Godalming, and been succeeded by the Rev. T. Porter. The station at Farncombe had been discontinued, and that at Eashing resumed. In the Shere district a new preaching-place had been secured at Ranmoor Common. In the general summary for the year it appears that four agents of the Mission preach in 21 villages, with an aggregate population of about 10,000 ; the congregations total about 1,300, of whom 130 are church members ; in the Sunday schools there were 254 scholars and 24 teachers.

The income for 1840 was £570 11s. 6d., the largest reported, except when special efforts had been made to meet deficits. Enquiry had been

made as to spiritual destitution in the county, with depressing results. In one village of 1,200 population there were 12 public-houses, and the attendance at church did not exceed 100. In eight villages, with a total population of 7,200, there was no evangelical teaching whatever. There had been co-operation with the London Christian Instruction Society in the matter of open air meetings, of which 13 had been held. A scheme of permanent co-operation with the Home Missionary Society had been arranged. The Home Missionary Society was to give aid, not to the mission at large, but to particular stations where the agents were Congregationalists; and any new churches that might be gathered were to be constituted "on the principle of admission of all believers to communion."

Mr. Widgery had been removed from the Shere district to a new district, consisting of villages about Dorking, where he died soon after. He had been succeeded by Mr. J. Hedgwick from Hayes. There had been trouble from mob violence at Ewhurst and Gomshall, but this had been followed by signs of spiritual awakening. Mr. Hillyard had removed from Elstead, and had been succeeded by the Rev. J. Moss, who was ordained at Kingston on 30th September, 1840.

It is worth noting that agents of the Mission were usually ordained at a general meeting of the Society, as was customary with the old English Presbyterians; the idea being the conferring of ministerial status, not, as with some modern Congregationalists, the mere recognition of pastorship in a particular congregation.

The Report for 1842 names the following places as constituting the Dorking district: Ockley, Capel, and Holmwood (Sunday services); Stonebridge, Cold Harbour, and Ranmoor Common (weekday meetings).

Domestic affliction put a speedy end to the ministry of Mr. Moss at Elstead, and in October, 1843, the Rev. E. Bromfield was ordained at Dorking as evangelist for that district. During this year Sutton was regularly supplied on Sundays; and a grant was made to Mr. Barker, who preached on Sundays and conducted a week-evening school at Ewell. Assistance was given to the church at Leatherhead, to maintain a preaching station at Bookham. Wormley was supplied by Mr. H. Baker; the congregation had been increased by persons from Chiddingfold, where a poor man had been compelled to close his cottage against the preacher.

A site having been obtained for a permanent chapel at Elstead, the foundation was laid on 3rd June, 1845; but the building was not opened till 10th April in the following year. The income of the Mission for 1845 was £500 6s. 7d.

Mr. Churchill, who had ministered at Esher for fully 30 years, retired in October, 1844, and was succeeded by the Rev. G. Evans, who was already an elderly man. In 1846 he was reported as preaching regularly at Esher, Thames Ditton, and East Molesey, and occasionally at Seething Wells and Cobham; but he died before the end of the year; and this station does not afterwards appear in the reports of the Mission.

In 1847 the chapel at Sutton, which had been private property, was inherited by the Rev. J. Hudson of West Bromwich. It was now put in trust, repaired, and re-opened. About the same time a room was obtained for regular preaching at Cobham, where spiritual destitution was great, and where the work of the Mission had been discontinued for above 20 years.

In 1848 a long-closed chapel at Bagshot was re-opened; and the following year another was

re-opened at Byfleet. In October, 1849, the Rev. B. Haynes, the devoted minister of Worplesdon, died of cholera, leaving a widow in straitened circumstances. The secretaries of the Mission initiated a subscription on her behalf, which raised the very respectable sum of £530. The report for 1850 gives a review of the work in that year, which may be thus summarized :

OXTED DISTRICT. Mr. Nichols : 6 villages, 67 church members, 140 Sunday scholars, 15 teachers.

SHERE DISTRICT. Mr. Turner : 6 villages, 63 church members.

CAPEL and HOLMWOOD. Mr. Moore : 2 villages, no church formed, 25 Sunday scholars, 2 teachers.

ELSTEAD DISTRICT. Mr. Broomfield : 54 church members, 128 Sunday scholars.

WORPLESDON DISTRICT. Mr. Hardiman : 5 villages, 33 church members, 104 Sunday scholars.

COBHAM. Mr. White : 3 villages, 30 Sunday scholars, 5 teachers.

There was also a group of villages connected with the church at Godalming, two villages connected with Haselmere, and the chapel at Sutton, all variously aided. The income for the year was £436 15s. 2d., but the total expenditure was nearly £586.

The report for 1853 tells of a new chapel at Cobham, built at a cost of £600. The following were the places supplied more or less regularly by the Society's agents :

OXTED : Pain's Hill, Broadham Green, Tandridge, Blindley Heath, Tilburston Hill.

SHERE : Gomshall, Felday, Ewhirst, Peaslake, Albany, Hanmer.

Elstead and Tilford.

Perry Hill (Worplesdon).

COBHAM : Downside and Byfleet.

Sutton, supplied.

Preaching-place at Wormley re-opened.

The minister at Haslemere preaches at Shotters Mill, Grey's Wood, and Roundhurst.

A grant was made to the minister of a new church at Surbiton.

There had been tent preaching at Chobham Military Camp, not very successful, but to be resumed next year.

The income for 1855 was £471 1s. 6d.

In 1858 the general committee of the Mission had become inconveniently numerous, consisting of 58 ministers and 18 lay brethren. It was therefore decided to appoint an executive committee of 13, together with the treasurer and secretaries. The following year both the cumbersome general committee and the select executive committee disappear from the record; and instead there is an elected committee of 12 ministers and 6 laymen.

By this time the dense ignorance and spiritual destitution against which the Mission was intended to deal had been appreciably mitigated. From 1797 to 1860 at least twenty Congregational churches or branches had been constituted in rural Surrey, besides several of the Baptist order, and numerous preaching-places where no church was organized. It might seem not unreasonable that altered conditions should invite some change of method. In 1860 the income of the Mission was £473 14s. 5d. Two years later reports were received from 13 chapels and 19 outstations; having a total attendance of 1,960, with 297 church members, and 687 Sunday scholars. A distinction now appears between missionaries, grantees, and lay assistants. In 1863 the Surrey Congregational Union was formed, which gradually absorbed much both of the work and the resources of the Mission, the income of which thenceforth began to decline. In 1865 it was £446 15s. 11d.

The stations reported in 1870 were as follows:

1. † Oxted, † Pain's Hill, and three out-stations.
2. † Gomshill and † Felday.
3. † Ewhurst and three out-stations.

4. † Elstead and Tilford.
5. Thursley (Bowhead Green) and High Combe Valley.
6. † Worplesdon, † Pirbright, and † Normandy.
7. † Wormley and † Milford.
8. Ash, with occasional open-air services at Aldershot.

At the places indicated by † Congregational churches or branches are flourishing at the present time.

A vigorous effort brought up the income for 1870 to £522 9s. ; but it was already becoming evident that the work of the Mission was done. On 27th March, 1874, it was decided that the Society should be wound up ; and a small committee consisting of the Revs. A. E. Lord, W. P. Tiddy, and W. K. Rowe was appointed to deal with any matters of business that might arise. The income for that year was £346 9s. 9d. In discontinuing the operations of the Mission the following arrangements were made :

Pirbright chapel, by the terms of the trust, came under the control of the Home Missionary Society. Normandy was taken in charge by the church at Guildford ; Worplesdon and Milford by that at Godalming ; Tilford was united with Elstead, and for a time was worked from Farnham, but subsequently became a branch of Godalming ; Cobham was placed under the guardianship of Hersham ; and Worplesdon became independent. Thursley, having been chiefly supported by the Baptist churches of Norwood, was left in their hands. The Ash and Oxted stations were relinquished ; but the latter, as well as the branch at Pain's Hill, was resuscitated a few years later.

After the decision to wind up the affairs of the Mission, legal obstacles were discovered, arising out of the fact that legacies had been invested, and produced dividends which must of necessity be used for purposes agreeable to the wishes of the testators. The Mission therefore still exists, in the shape of a committee, who are charged with the administration of this income. A balance sheet, covering the $6\frac{1}{4}$ years, from 4th

August, 1874 to 24th November, 1880, exhibits the following statement :

DR.				CR.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Legacies and				Grants ...	221	0	0
Dividends ...	249	4	0	Law Costs and			
				Sundries ...	19	15	9
				Balance ...	8	8	3
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	£249	4	0		£249	4	0
	<hr/>				<hr/>		

The following gentlemen served the Mission in the capacity of treasurers and secretaries :

TREASURERS.

— Davies, Esq., Tooting.	1797—
Thos. Hayter, Esq., Brixton.	1820—1831
Geo. Foster, Esq., Guildford.	1822—1826
Jas. Hickson, Esq., Wandsworth.	1832—1857
Joseph Tritton, Esq., Upper Norwood.	1858—1870
Rev. J. M. Soule.	1871—1874

SECRETARIES.

Rev. Jas. Bowden, Tooting.	1797—1812
Rev. Thos. Jackson, Stockwell.	1812—1831
Rev. John Whitehouse, Dorking.	1822—1824
Rev. St. Percy, Guildford.	1822—1826
Mr. Thos. Maitland, Walworth.	1827—1829
Rev. Alf. Dawson, Dorking.	1827—1831
Rev. Geo. Browne, Clapham.	1828—1834
Rev. J. E. Richards, Wandsworth.	1830—1848
Rev. J. Varty, Mitcham.	1834—
Rev. E. Miller, Putney.	1835—1837
Rev. W. Crowe, Kingston.	1835—1838
Rev. John Hunt, Brixton.	1838—1839
Rev. R. Connebee, Dorking.	1839—1846
Rev. R. Soule, Battersea (General Sec.).	1840—1870
Rev. T. Kennerley, Mitcham.	1849—1850
Rev. R. Ashton, Putney (Finance Sec.).	1851—1865
Rev. C. Stanford, D.D., Camberwell	1864
Rev. A. E. Lord, Hershham.	1865—1874
Rev. D. Thomas, D.D., Stockwell.	1866—1870
Rev. W. P. Tiddy, Camberwell.	1870—1874

In the early years of the Mission the efforts of its agents were mainly directed to the spiritual

awakening of individuals ; and their reports were largely occupied with hopeful conversions and happy deaths. This was in full accord with the sentiment, then general in evangelical circles, which regarded life chiefly as a preparation for death. The decline of Calvinism, and larger views of the Divine Fatherhood, have led us in later times rather to think of death as the consummation of life. Accordingly more attention has been given to moral and social improvement, and the removal of temptations. This is well ; but it is also well that in our devotion to these desirable aims we should beware lest we earn the reproof: "These things ought ye to have done, and not left the other undone."

AN
ANTIDOTE

AGAINST

The Contagious Air of Independency

SHEWING

- I. Six sufficient Grounds, why they ought to revoke their Schismaticall Principles.
- II. Six Parallells betwixt theirs and the Jesuiticall practices.

By *D.P.P.*

1 Cor. I. 12, 13

For this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, And I of Apollo, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ.

Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? Or were yee baptized in the Name of Paul? &c.

Imprimatur JA. CRANFORD

*ohn Field for Ralph Smith, at the sign of the
neer the Royal Exchange. 1644.*

An Antidote against the Contagious [3]

Air of INDEPENDENCY.

[*Scripture Quotation as on Tille-Page.*]

IT was not without cause that *Solomon* the wisest King that ever breathed upon earth, cryed out in the beginning of the book of his Recantation, (a) *Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, Vanity of vanities, all is vanity, &c.* For ^(a) Eccles. 1. 2. surely, if any that have seen the former happinesse of

[Copy
torn]

this Kingdom, should behold the miseries of it at this present, they might with *Solomon*, bewail the vic[i]tude of all temporall things; if they took into consideration the sudden change that is befallen to this Kingdom in so short a time; for it is fallen from the highest flood of prosperity, to the lowest ebbe of desolation; and not by the incursions of foraign Nations, but by its own children, that have (like young *Vipers*) ripp'd up the womb of their Mother, to imbrue their hands in their own blood, with less remorse and humanity then barbarous heathen; for (b) *Tacitus* records that one br[4]other having slain his Brother unawares in the Battell of *Bedriae* (that was fought between the Commanders of the Emperor *Otho*, and the Commanders of the Emperor *Vitellius*) killed himself upon his Brothers body, for grief that he had been so unfortunate, as to slay him, that he was bound by nature to love dearly. And *Guichardin* records, That *Robert Earl de la Marke* loved so dearly his two sons the Barons of *Floranges* and *Famets*, that having broken through the battell of (c) *Novare*, and made a worthy retreat with his own Regiment, in despite of the victorious Enemy, hearing (when he was past all danger) that his two sons lay among the dead in the midst of the field, returned, and in despite of all opposition, recovered their bodies, and brought them away upon his horse, and by this extraordinary valour saved both their lives, notwithstanding they were then speechlesse, and mortally wounded. But alas, we are so desperately wicked, and void of all humanity and natural affection, in this Intestine War of ours, that divers Gentlemen, of both parties, have looked upon their nearest Kinsmen that were wallowing in their own blood, in the Battell of *Keynton*, without offering them their ayd, nor casting a sigh of compassion for them: Nay, some have been so cruell, and deprived of all naturall affection, that they and their Abettors have ridden twenty miles in a dark night to surprize their Father, Uncle, or Brother, for to carry them away to their own Garrison, to wring out of their hands some considerable Ransom, which being refused, they have, like (d) *Caldeans*, deprived them (d) Job 1, 17. in another night of all their cattell and means, and reduced them (that were Knights fellows) into *Jobs* case, without any [5] compassiō or reluctance. Its no wonder therefore, if our miseries do rather increase, then draw neer to a period, since our cruelties, inhumanities, and oppressions, are not to be paraleld in any History. But that which doth most of all increase the wrath of God against us, is, that some of our Clergy-men, that (e) Exo. 32, 10, 11, 12. should, like (e) *Moses* stand in the gap to appease the Lords anger, are they, that inflame the same, by the Contentions and Schisms they foment in the Church of God, about the establishing of a new way of Church Government, which they have brought from *Holland* or *America*, (where they were constrained

to flye, by the over rigorous courses of the Prelacy;) having been infected with this contagious air, by sojourning in those parts among Sectaries; so that, thinking by flight to avoid a Rock, they have cast themselves upon a quick-sand, that may, if God in his mercy prevent it not, conduce their Souls to greater danger then their bodies were, during the persecution of the Archbishop *Laud*. It is therefore necessary that Christians should be very circumspect where they flie, because the contagious Air of a perverse generation is apt to be infused insensibly into their hearts; for the sojourning of the righteous *Lot* among the Sodomites, did in some sort taint his noble disposition, otherwise he had not proffered his two daughters to the desperate lust of the Sodomites, to preserve the two Angels from (f) violence, that the Rites of Hospitality might not be wronged; And the aboad of his two daughters amongst that impious Generation, taught them to drown the (g) Contineny of their Father in the Wine of Drunkenesse, that hee might not abhor their incestuous imbracements, which he had undoubtedly detested, if the light [6] of his reason had not been over-clouded with the vapours of the Vine. And the (h) long aboad of the most continent of men, chaste *Joseph*, amongst the Egyptians, bred in him that vicious habit, to swear by the life of *Pharaoh*, &c. Even so, they having been infected with this contagious Air of Independency, oppose as much as in them lyeth, the Presbyteriall Government, notwithstanding it is approved of by the Word of God, the practice of the Apostles, and of all the Primitive Churches, And endeavour to bring in this new revealed way, that hath no president but the practice of some private Congregations of Separatists that are in Holland and America, which is as good as nothing at all; as it shall appear in the Reasons following. Now because I conceive these Schisms and Spirituall Divisions do as much, or rather more, retard the true Reformation in hand, then our Civil Divisions; I conceive myself obliged by the rule of Christian Charity, to exhort in the name of God, and for CHRIST JESUS sake, all such Independents, that have rent in pieces the Mysticall body of our Saviour, by gathering to themselves private Congregations, and by a kinde of Mercenary way, robbed divers of their brethren of the Ministry, of some of the fattest sheep of their flocks; to give over this destructive way; for did they know the irreparable breaches, they make by it in the Church of God, I am perswaded they would suddenly forsake the same, for the advancement of Gods glory, and their own safety (which ought to be dearer to them then their lives, and all other respects whatsoever) which is much impaired and indangered, by this their separation from the Church; intreating all those [7] to whom this Antidote shall come to hand, to excuse; if I write freely what I conceive of their way, and relate what I heare other men say of

it, since the Lord is my witness, that it is not out of spleen or malice that I bear against any of them ; but meerly out of zeal to advance Gods glory, and for their own safety, that is much impaired by it, as I have said before ; that such gifts that the Lord hath bestowed upon divers of them (which their disciples would have men to esteem rare and extraordinary) may be employed to increase the Kingdom of Christ, and not Satans, nor to foment Divisions between them that should remember, that Unity is their duty, as saith I. P. very judiciously, of whose opinion I am in this first case, that in controversies men are to be milde in expressions ; but whether he be of my opinion in this second case I know not ; *viz.*, that men are bound to speake ingeniously what they know, and conceive to be true and profitable for the advancement of Gods glory, and our brethrens good ; whether it be pleasant or distastful unto them : And as I say, so will I write in the following Reasons.

I

Their new way must by all ingenious spirits be acknow- Reas. 1.
 ledged in this time of war, and civil dissentions, inconvenient to be pressed or required ; for these reasons, 1. Because an intestine war is a breeder of contention ; and their new way is rather a fomentor then a pacifier of divisions ; for none will deny that one body with an absolute head, will more easily be kept in unity and concord, then many [8] thousand bodies that have every one of them a head that is absolute, and hath neither reference nor Dependency with any other authority, but of his own body : 2. Because we should by it, be divided from that union that we have contracted, and have taken a Solemn Oath to maintain with our brethren the Scots ; which would divide us and them into so many small channels, that the River of our Forces would be fordable everywhere ; and these two Kingdoms exposed to the cruell mercy of our enemies : 3. Because we should as the French Proverb saith, Fall from a Quotidian to a burning Feaver ; and for our Hierarchy of Prelates, that hath with much ado been supported [*sic, see end*] ; we should establish 9324, that would like so many Caterpillars devour the substance of every green Exo. 10, 5.
 thing of the Land, and suck more blood of the Common people in one year, then the Star Chamber, the High Commission Court, the Arches, or all the Bishops Courts could do in six, although their hunger was insatiable.

II

Reas. 2. No man, except he be blinded or overswayed with partiality, will deny that this new way is altogether incompatible, and the greatest Antagonist that can be to the Royall, to the

Parliamentall, and their subordinate Authority: But because this point hath been so clearly proved by Master *Pryn*, I will passe it over, for it would seem presumption in mee, to adde any thing to that he hath already delivered concerning the same.

III

[9] This new way hath no warrant out of the word of God; for we are not to seperate our selves from the Church, but upon palpable errors, that are crept, or wilfully maintained (as they are in the Church of *Rome*) against the Analogie of Faith, and the true Orthodox Doctrine of the best Reformed Churches of Christendom: But for men to gather secret congregations, and rent in pieces, as some Independents do, the Mystical Body of Christ; I say some, for they do not all seperate themselves from the Church, nor fall into that sin of offence, Matth. 18. 6. *But whoso shall offend one of these little ones, which beleeveth in me, it were better for him that a milstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the Sea.* Under colour, that their consciences are so tender, that they cannot receive the Communion in a mixt congregation without offence: But these men can stumble at a straw, and lep over a block; for in this case their consciences are offended without cause; and wley they commit a great sin, and tear in pieces the Mystical body of our blessed Saviour, they are not offended at all, so this seems a Paradox to me, are (*sic*) one of the equivocations they have learned from the Roman Jesuits; that is rather a signe of a seared conscience, then of a tender conscience: Because it is impossible for them to obtain (should they seperate every month) and change their private congregations; one so pure as to be free from all Hypocrites, Profane, or ill prepared receivers; for of four men that entered into the Ark, by the Commandment of God, one of them was an Atheist, and (*i*) wicked hypocrite; And amongst our blessed Redee[ro]mers twelve Apostles; what probability is there then that the private Congregations of the Independants can be free from all unworthy Communicants; for if we grant they may be freed from notorious sinners; yet they dare not affirme they are free of hypocrites, that are more odious to God and men then open sinners: Now if they conceive that the sin of an impenitent receiver is transferred to them, if they receive the Communion with him; they are of necessity as much polluted by the company of Hypocrites, as by the company of known sinners: But it is certain that the guilt of an impenitent receiver is not transferred to the well prepared receiver, for if it were, Gods promises were in vaine, and to think so were blasphemy: Notwithstanding what-

(i) See Gen. 7. 1 & 9. 21. Ham the Son of Noah.

(k) Mat. 16. 20, 26, 27, 28. Judas, the son of perdition was one of the twelve:

(l) Ezek. 18. 19, 20.

soever I have said, or shall say concerning this point, it is not to excuse the carelessness of the Pastors or Elders that admit notorious sinners to so blessed a Sacrament, for they cannot be too precise to examine such as they suspect to be of scandalous life, or to refuse them admittance, until they give to the world clear evidence of their conversion, and amendment of life: But it is to shew that such are to blame, that doth separate themselves from their Parish Congregations, because some few known sinners are admitted to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper by the carelesnesse of the Pastors, Church Wardens, or Elders of their Parish, and specially now the honourable Houses have taken order that this abuse should be redressed, and diligently amended; for as I have said before, they have no warrant out of the word of God [*to sep*]erate themselves upon such sandy grounds; be[*II*]cause Christ the fountain of all wisdom and purity, had not admitted to his own table, that very night that he instituted that blessed Sacrament to his disciples, *Judas*, that he knew to be a thiefe, and was to be presently after the most perfidious Traitor that ever breathed upon earth, if separation had been so necessary to be observed. Moreover, although the Church of the *Corinthians* was polluted with such an incestuous person, as was not so much as named among the Gentiles, yet we do not read that the Saints of that Church did separate their selves, but only excommunicated him for a time, according to Saint *Pauls* direction; that the Spirit might be (*m*) saved in the day of the Lord Jesus, &c. (m) 1 Cor. 5, 1, 5. Neither do we read of any separation of the Saints in the seven primitive Churches of *Asia*, although there were divers among them infected with the erroneous opinions of the *Balaamites* and of the (*n*) *Nicholaitans* &c. I do not say but the true children of God are to separate themselves from the company, frequentation, and familiarity of all profane men, and notorious sinners, because they are as the Prophet *Jeremiah* saith, to take forth the precious from the vile (*o*) that they may be as the mouth of God, &c. (n) Rev. 2, 14, 15. (o) Jer. 15, 19. But this separation is a peculiar separation, and not a Publike or a generall separation of the Church; this confirms the first point that I have spoken of, that there is nothing more dangerous for a Christian to inhabit, or to be familiarly acquainted or conversant with Sectaries, profane, Licentious, or impious men; for as it is impossible for us to handle pitch, without our hands be stained and besmeared with it, even so it is impossible to converse with the wicked, without we be in time ac[*12*]cessary to some one or other of their wicked actions; and the like to converse familiarly, or to go constantly to hear the Independants Sermons, without one be tainted with the contagious air of their Positions.

IV

This New way, and the Separation of Independants from their Parish Churches, is an incouragement to all the Separatists, Brownists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Socinians and Libertines, that are in and about the City ; for they shelter themselves under their name ; and when they are taken in their Conventicles, by some of the publique Officers, and inforced to answer for themselves, they affirm to be Independants, to cover their Heresies, it being an ordinary thing among the wicked, to disguise themselves under the name of such, that are reputed to be more sincere then themselves ; for although the Independants gather congregations, and separate themselves from their Parish congregations, as the Sectaries do ; yet they are for the greater part sound in Doctrine, and dissent from us onely in Discipline ; but the Sectaries are Erroneous both in Doctrine and Discipline, and draw daily upon our heads, the just judgement of God, because we connive at their Errors, and suffer them to infect the simple people with their contagious Tenents (*sic*). Now these disguisements and fallacies of the Sectaries, should in my opinion induce the Independants to a holy indignation, and detest to be any longer the harbour of such Vermine, or the President or Patron of their Separation from the Church of God ; for if they are demanded why they dismember themselves ; their answer is, That [13] the greatest Precisians in the Kingdom have taught them the way. And surely, if it were unlawfull (say they) such Learned and Religious Men as they are, would not be example of offence and of evil to others ; and by this means are a stumbling block to them, and the cause that the wicked are hardened in the wayes of Error and Impiety.

V

This revealed Discipline is inferior to the Presbyteriall Government ; in this point, That the effects of the Issue is uncertain ; whereas the Presbyteriall is approved, by the happy successe it hath had for many yeers in *Switzerland, France, Holland and Scolland*. But this is a meer Novelty, that may be compared to the projects of some Yong Mathematician drawn upon paper, that promise much, but when they are to be put in practise, are ordinarily of no use at all. Or like to some of our Engineer Models, that seem to promise in a small form, divers rare effects ; As for the elevation of Water above her natural spring ; which seems a thing impossible, according to humane reason : Or to raise a piece of Timber, or a great stone of a thousand weight from the ground to the top of a structure, with a small Engine that may be carryed in a mans hand. But when by the proofs of these small Modells, they have with much ado induced an undertaker to have them made in great, with extraordinary charges,

there is not one among a hundred, when they are set up, that prove to be successfull, because some Spring, Wheel, or Counter-prise, is either too weake, too small, or too light to indure[14] the violent motion of it, whereby it is presently rent in pieces, and the charges of the credulous undertaker cast away: even so it would fall out with this new revealed way, if our supreme Magistrates were so credulous, as to trie the operation of it: (the which the Lord prevent,) for although it might be effectuell in some small congregations, in *Holland*, or some small Boroughs in *America*; yet it would certainly be destructive to this populous Kingdom, and would prove like *Platos* Common weale, beautifull in conceits and imaginations, but altogether unusefull, and as impossible to be put in practise amongst us, as that was among the Athenians.

VI

This new way would rather increase our divisions and miseries, then lessen them; for of all sorts of governments, whether they be civill or Ecclesiasticall, a Democraticall forme is most apt to foment and breed divisions and contentions, witness the Democraticall Common weales of the Athenians, Aetolians, and Achaians, that were of small continuance, and alwayes tossed up and down with Civill contentions, as the rowling billows of a tempestuous sea, and fell sundry times under the yoke of Tyrants. Now if this new way should take place, and every Pastor with his Elders to be absolute over their congregation, we should (as the French proverb saith) fall from a Quotidian to a burning Feaver, and for one Hierarchy of Prelates, raise 9324. of Independants (as I said before) for there are so many Parishes in this Kingdom; and they cannot conveniently be reduced in a lesser number of congre[15] gations. Now what Unity can be expected among so many Lawlesse men; whose actions and doctrine are not to be controuled by any civill or Ecclesiasticall Authority: I leave it to the consideration of the Reader; for if great Princes that are of a more noble education, and of a more ingenious inclination, are subject to become Tyrants, when they feare neither Lawes nor men, as *Tacitus* the great Politician Records of the Emperor *Tiberius*, and of the Emperour *Nero*; what may be expected of meaner men; * *Tiberius* saith he, kept himself in a kinde of moderation * *Tacitus*. as long as *Livia* his mother lived, and so did *Nero* all the life time of his mother *Agrippina*, but as soon as *Livia* died of her naturall death; and that *Agrippina* was made away by her impious son: they both give themselves over to commit before the sun all manner impiety; which they committed before secretly, for feare to displease, or grieve their mothers: It is therefore the Lawes, and the respect of Magistrates, that curbeth the pernicious inclination of men: But if this new way should take place, what Impiety would not be committed, or what Heresies would not be

invented, to please the palate of their Auditors, for to increase the number of their congregations, and the renew of their contributions, or out of ambition, to be reputed more precise and singular then their brethren or neighbor (9) Pastors, upō
(9) Jud. 17, 5. which would insue unheard of divisions, contentions, and confusions, as it fell out in the time of *Micah*, when there was no king in Israel. As long as *Fehojada* lived, *Joash* king of *Judah* feared the Lord, but as soon as he was dead, he gave himself over to Idolatry, and Impiety, for he caused [16] *Zacharias* (2) the son
(2) 2 Chr. 14, 20. of *Fehoiada*, that had raised him to the Crown, most cruelly and ingratelully to be stoned to death, because he admonished him to returne unto the Lord. And shall we hope better of men of lower degree, that are risen from nothing to ride on (f) Horse-back, when their Master walkes a-foot; (f) Eccles. 10, 7. have we forgotten the Proverb, *Set a begger on horse-back and he will, &c.* No surely, but rather worse; for there never was two such insulting Prelates in the Christian World, as *Card; Woolsey*, and *William Laud* Arch Bishop of Canterbury; and yet the first was but a Butchers Son, and the second a poore Cloath-workers Son; the first durst presume to name himselfe before his King, and the second to controul his Prince, reforme the Royall Oath, and insult over the supream Court of this Kingdom. Even so, if this new way should take place, we should have many thousand petty Tyrants, domineering over their Congregations, as the last Arch-bishop did in the Star-chamber, and the High Commission Court, and as many Religions as Pastors; for every one of them would frame a Religion after their owne Idea. But the Presbyterian Discipline is a medium way between Hierarchy, and a Democraticall Government; much like to the Civill Government of the Venetians, that hath continued this twelve hundred yeare, and so may this continue to the last day, because it is free from all extreames, which in all Discipline are dangerous. But the Kingdome being divided into twelve *Classis*, and every *Classis* having six Reverend Divines, appointed to call twice a yeare all the Pastors that shall be under their Jurisdiction before them, and to examine and deter[17]mine of all Cases as well for Doctrine, Discipline, and misdeme[n]our in life and conversation; And these twelve *Classis* to be called once a yeare to a Nationall Synod, for to judge of the Appeals, and of the greater affaires of the Church. This medium way I say, is able to suppress all Schismes and Divisions, and to keepe the Clergy in that purity of Doctrine and Discipline, as is beseeing the true Ministers of God. These Reasons then should in my opinion induce the Independants to re-unite themselves with the Church of God, to abhorre all separation, and to disdaine to shelter any longer the Sectaries that live in and about this City; but rather to endeavour to convince them of their errors by the sword of the Spirit: But if they will de-

sperately remaine obstinate, then to lend their helping hand to their Brethren of the Ministry, to remove them from hence, that they may not draw any longer the Judgements of God upon this Nation, as they have done for conniving at them, which kind of halting between two opinions is most odious to God; for it is impossible to serve God and Mammon; And in so doing, they will vindicate themselves of these six imputations following, which are daily cast upon them, which otherwise will confirme this opinion in the common people, that there is seldome any smoake without fire.

I

THat they are as like the Roman Jesuits in their Principles, Method, Insinuations, Equivocations and Fallacies; as two Paralell lines are like one another. 6 Paralells.

II

[18] As the Jesuits will not charge themselves with any parish cures, but desire rather to instruct Schollers in the liberall Arts; preach Funerall Sermons all the Lent long: even so our Independents shun all parish cures, and endeavour to obtain as many Legative Lectures as they can, for to avoid the extraordinary pains that parish cures require, and in lieu of Schollers, they gather to themselves as many Disciples as they can, and of them they frame privat congregations, of which they require a Covenant, for to contribute to the necessities of their Pastors; and an oath or promise to follow him wheresoever he is inforced to flee; whether it be in *Holland* or in *America*; and so by these Lectures, that are the most certain rents to men and punctually paid of any; and the contributions of their private congregations, their yeerly renew doth excell the yeerly coming in of the best parish Cures.

III

The Jesuits intice all the ingenious spirits of a County to their Schools, and allure thither the eldest sons of the richest Families living about them; whereby they insinuate them[19]selves in the affections of their Parents, which leave them great Legacies at their decease; so that in a few yeers, they get the greatest part of the free land, seated neer unto their Colleges; and if the Magistrates in Romaine and in the state of the Venetians had not by an Edict prevented their wiles, they had in a short time incroached the greater part of their demains. But they have now made an Edict, That if any leave any land by his last Will to the Jesuits, they are upon pain of forfeiture to sel the same within the year, to Lay-men, that they may no more incroach upon their Territories: But the Jesuits finding means notwithstanding this Edict, by supposed names to hold these Legacies: The state of Venice for this and another of their Wiles, viz. About the

Oricular confession, have been constrained to banish them out of their State : for as long as they remained in Venice ; the most secret Councils and Resolutions of the Senate was revealed to the Pope and the King of Spain, by the insinuations used in the Oricular confession of the *Venetian Ladies* : Even so the Independants intice and allure to their side the most acute [20] spirits, and insinuate themselves cunningly with the richest and most eminent persons where they live, and allure the best and richest families to their private congregations, whereby they increase their Revenew ; and obtain the best Legative Lectures about the City ; and had they the use of the Oricular confession as well as the Jesuits, that they might use their insinulative faculty to dying men and women, they would undoubtedly excell the Jesuits in riches and demaines.

IV

Wheresoever the Jesuits set footing, they drive away, or impoverish all the rest of the Ecclesiastive Orders of the Roman Church ; be they Priests, Monks, or Friars, and are generally hated of them all for their extream ambition, and griping Covetousnesse ; Even so wheresoever the Independants are admitted, they impoverish all their Brethren, of the Ministry ; for they draw from them, after a mercinary way, the fattest and best wooll'd sheep they have in their flock, to increase the contributions of their private congregations : Moreover, they are generally hated of their [21] neighbours for their vain ostentation and avarice ; for although they would be accounted humble, yet they will not give way to the best, but will have their own opinion to be reputed a law ; and their arguments, although they are sometime weak & ridiculous, to be infallible ; and for their Avarice, it is apparent, for their revenew exceeds the best Parish Cures.

V

The Jesuits, wheresoever they come, foment divisions, and contentions both in Church and Common-wealth, because they love to fish in muddy waters ; even so the Independants wheresoever they come, they foment discord in Church and Common wealth ; for proof of it, we need no other, then our own experience, for since they are come from *Holland* and *America*, they have increased our divisions, and retarded by the one moiety (*sic*) of the time, the establishing of the Directory of the Discipline of the Church, and of the true Reformation ; And their separation, and their gathering of private congregations, hath encouraged the Sectaries in their errorious wayes ; that [22] for one Anabaptist or Antinomian, that was among us, when they came over, there is now ten.

VI

As the Jesuits have an extraordinary opinion of themselves ;

even so have the Independants, a certain immovable self-conceitednesse* of their own sufficiency, and Sanctity ; was it not a self-conceitednesse of them to disassent to the Presbyteriall Government, when all their Arguments, and Reasons to maintain their new way, have been confuted and sufficiently answered ; Or is it not rather an unheard of obstinacy, that six of them should oppose and controul the Judgement and opinion of three-score and ten, as Learned and Religious Ministers as themselves ? And is it not a dangerous conceit of their Sanctity, to separate themselves from their Parish congregations, because a few of unworthy receivers are admitted by the ignorance, or the carelesnesse of the Church officers ; surely these proceedings of theirs do bear evidence against them, that they are as well conceited of themselves as the Pharisee, Luk. 18, 11. *The Pharisee stood and prayed [23] thus with him self, God I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this Publicane, &c.* Because they consider not that humility and self-deniall, are the two fairest flowers of the Christian Garland, and a most certain signe of a true hearted *Nathaniel*. These are the aspersions that are daily cast upon the Independants, that should induce them for the time to come, to be more circumspect of their wayes, then they have been heretofore (for men begin to take notice of their Carriage) and abstain from renting in pieces, as they have done formerly, the Mysticall Body of Christ ; but rather to endeavour with all humility, and with the spirit of meeknesse, to be with one accord and assent, assistant and yoak-fellows with their brethren of the Ministry, to establish the Presbyteriall Discipline in the Church ; that is, in all probability the way to advance Gods glory, the good of his Church, and the Peace and the Unity of these three Kingdoms, and to increase his sacred Majesties honor, and to lay a sure foundation for his gracious Posterity [as t]he Monarchs of Albion, as long as [the sun and m]oon shall endure ; whereas if [24] they continue in their wilfulnesse and obstinacy ; God, notwithstanding their traversing endeavors, will bring this great worke of Reformation to a blessed period in his due time, and they shall see it, but as the Prophet *Elisha* said to the lord on whose hand the King leaned, *Thou shalt see it with thine eyes, but shalt not eat thereof* ; so except they repent from their former wayes, and endeavour with their brethren of the ministry to root out of this Kingdom these numerous swarmes of Sectaries that infest the Aire of the Land with their erroneous and blasphemous opinion, they may see this Reformation effected in their dayes, but shall never reap or eat of the fruits of it, but shall be enforced to return in exile from whence they came, except they return, as I have said, unto the Lord, and prefer the advance of his glory, before their own ends.

* Witness
E.W. con-
cerning
his name.

Acts, all
Chap. 2.

2 Kings
7, 2.

FINIS.

Erratum : Page 8, line 13, for supported read suppressed.

Henry Roote and the Congregational Church of Sowerby, near Halifax, 1645

Communicated by Mr. T. W. Hanson, Halifax

HENRY ROOTE, who gathered the earliest Congregational church in the West Riding, was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, and is said to have travelled abroad in his younger days. He was minister at Gorton chapel, near Manchester, before he came to Halifax.

Roote came into a district where the soil had been prepared for the planting of a Congregational church. There had been a succession of sound Puritan divines at Halifax church. Ashbourne had so painfully preached to turn the people of this corner of the North into loyal Protestant subjects, that he is specially mentioned in that famous reply of Archbishop Grindall to Queen Elizabeth which cost him his primacy. Then came thirty years of Dr. John Favour, who prided himself on a fancied resemblance that his face bore to the portrait of Christ. Favour was the Protestant champion in many a debate with Roman Catholic priests, such as Henry Walpole; and from his book we gather that he would as gladly have persecuted a Brownist. To Dr. Favour Halifax owes its grammar school, and he prompted many of his parishioners to endow charities. He certainly strengthened the Puritan trait of the parish, and the next generation

developed into supporters of the Parliament against King Charles.

The physical aspect of the parish was also a favourable element. The ancient parish of Halifax was one of the largest in the country, and, owing to its hills and moorlands, most difficult to travel. In pre-Reformation days, pious donors had preferred to build chapels of ease rather than plaster more chantry chapels on to their parish church. There were twelve chapels serving townships that were, in many cases, as rich and as thickly populated as the township of Halifax. The people also maintained two lecturers at Halifax parish church. So that it was a long-established custom in Halifax parish to pay for and to choose their own ministers.

During the Civil War Parliament disendowed Halifax church, and its tithes and funds were diverted to the upkeep of Fairfax's forces. The spiritual needs of the parish were amply supplied by the "hyred ministers" of the chapels and the lecturers.

There was a diversity of parsons, as one might expect, from this popular control. During the Commonwealth we find Presbyterians like Oliver Heywood of Coley chapel, Episcopalians like Allan of Ripponden chapel, and Congregationalists like Henry Roote.

Roote came to Halifax church some time in 1643, after the departure of the vicar Richard Marsh, a noted pluralist. Henry Roote preached the "Snydall Memorial Sermon" on June 29th. The next day, the battle of Adwalton was fought and part of the Parliamentary army fled to Halifax. Within the next few days Halifax folk were fleeing as refugees over the Lancashire border. Roote went back into Lancashire, for we

find him preaching in Manchester at Angier's wedding.

On next St. Peter's Day he preached again in accordance with the will of Mrs. Snydall, at Halifax church. Soon after this, he removed to Sowerby chapel. The township of Sowerby was quite as rich and as important a place as Halifax township. "By the labour and ministry of faithful preachers," says the Priestley Memoirs, "Sowerby was the most eminent place that was to be found in all the country, wherein were many persons of note, both for parts, estates and piety."

Here at Sowerby, Henry Roote was able to put his Congregational ideals of a church into practice. Among the members who have more than a local fame were the father of Archbishop Tillotson, and Captain John Hodgson of Preston and Dunbar fights.

In Edwards's *Gangraena, Part III*, is "A Copy of a Letter written out of Yorkshire concerning an Independent Church in that Country" (*sic*), dated February 9th, 1645-6, in which it is reported "and the last Sabbath they had the liberty of the Chappel, wherein they began their Election by [[?]of] the Deacons"; and then follows a report of the sermon preached in the forenoon.

This letter provoked a reply from Mr. Roote. Hearing that his friends, Samuel Eaton and Timothy Taylor, were publishing *A Just Apologie for the Church of Duckenfeild in Cheshire: Against certain slanderous Reports received by Mr. Edwards*, he asked that his letter might be printed as an appendix to their pamphlet.

The Rev. John Watson while preparing his *History of Halifax* discovered this pamphlet, but took a mere cursory glance at it. He noted the title and then looked at the last page, saw Henry Roote's signature, and hastily concluded that he

was the author of the whole work. His error has led succeeding writers astray, partly of course by their own fault in not examining the book for themselves. Hunter, Miall, Bryan Dale, and many others have spread the report that Roote defended the Duckinfield church instead of his own church at Sowerby.

The Copie of a Letter from Mr. *Henry Rootes*, Pastor of the Church of *Sowerbie* in *Yorkshire*, in Vindication of himselfe against a sinister and dangerous, yet false and groundlesse insinuation, contained in the Copie of a Letter out of *Yorkshire*, divulged by Mr. *Edwards* in the third part of *Gangrænna*, pag. 69.

To his loving Brethren, Mr. *Eaton* or Mr. *Taylor*, these be presented.

Dearely beloved Brethren ;

Having received Intelligence from my Brother *Taylor*, of your purpose of answering some slanders of Mr. *Edwards*, I desire to give you a true and faithfull accompt of what I delivered in that Sermon, which is toucht upon in that Letter of *James Robinsons*, which is Printed, and of the unchristian dealing in that particular.

First, I exhorted all godly men to joyne themselves to some visible Church, if they have opportunity. I explained my selfe, I say to some visible Church ; not this or that, but some ; I say, if they have opportunitie ; for if God take away their opportunitie, they must wait Gods time : These Cautions premised : these Motives were added : First, whosoever joynes not to some, sinneth. Heb. 10, 25. Jude ver. 19. Secondly, God will punish such. Zach. 14. 17, 18, 19.

Secondly, I exhorted all godly men, being joynd to some visible Church, to strive to walke in some neernesse of Communion with that Church : as. 1. In love ; 2. Peace ; 3. Watchfulness ; 4. Christian toleration of Infirmities ; 5. Seeking one anothers welfare ; 6. Defending one another from common enemies. Gen. 14. 14. Act. 7. 24. Act. 9. 24, 25. Where you may see a mistake in the Relator of this last Quotation ; this is the real truth, as I can produce mine own notes, and skores of Witnesses to attest the same.

First, Observe that this relation which now is printed, was carried on the Sabbath day to another Chappell, a mile distant, and there written downe in all hast, and the next morning posted away to Manchester, and that week to Yorke : spread fifty miles

distant in a few dayes: the next weeke I hearing of it, both from *Yorke* and *Manchester*, I took occasion to speake with Mr. *Hollingsworth* about it, who said he had seene such a *Letter*, and I related unto him mine own Expressions, and sense, who said after he heard me, that I had a deale of wrong done unto me; I desired to know the party that did write the *Letter*, that I might vindicate my selfe; but he desired to be forborne in that; I intreated him then to doe mee that *Brotherly Office*, as to deale with the party himselfe; who promised he would, yet after all this, the *Letter* is sent to *London*, and printed.

Secondly, The next *Lords day* after I heard of this, I publickly before all the Congregation, related what I had heard was written to *Yorke* and *Manchester* (the writer being present) I then desired to repeate what I had delivered, and did so; and shewed before all, my sense, that I meant it of the Common enemy of the Kingdome, (we being at that time imbroyled in Civill warre,) and I added, *That I was so farre from judging it lawfull, for the Congregationall men to take up Armes against the Presbyterians, that I held it unlawful for any private man to take up Armes, except he was backed up by Publick Authoritie. Yea, I thought this warre, now in being, could not be justified, but that it hath the Authoritie of the State to mannage it.*

Thirdly, diverse weekes after this, (learning who was the *Writer* of this *Letter*) I dealt with him about it before one of his intimate friends, *Paul Greenwood*, shewing him how unchristianly he had dealt with mee in it: *Paul* answered, indeed he should have knowne my sense before he had divulged it; and for his part, he observed the passages of that Sermon as diligently as he could, and did not finde any thing of just exception against it: and I judge this *Paul*, as judicious a Christian as most about us, yet all this would *not cause the Letter* to be recalled, or *stayed from Printing*.

Fourthly, It may clearely be discerned by this Relation, and the *Circumstances* here set downe, that divers sinnes, divers wayes have been committed. First, by the first *Relator*, who upon the *Lords day* leaving his owne *Chappell*, in the midst of the day, to goe to carry a piece of a *Relation*, which proves the seed of *slander*; if wittingly he minced the *relation* in the limitation, there's *Doegs* sinne in it, yea if he related it in that sense which the *Scribe*, and *Publisher* in *Print* seeme to import, (as it is very probable, by his *hasty* telling of it, and the others *hasty* writing of it abroad) it was in that sense then the like sinne, to their's that were the false witnesses against our Saviour, *Mat. 26. 60, 61. cum Joh. 2. 19. 21.* But if it was *rashly* done, without any sinister intention, (which is much to be doubted,) yet there was evill in it, to relate a *Passage*, and to leave out principall *circumstances* for the understanding of it.

Secondly, Sinnes committed by the Writer, and divulger were.

First, *A receiving an accusation against an Elder upon one witness*, without enquiring of the Elder, whether it were so, though he might have done any day, and then divulging of it, behinde the backe, and never to the face, in a slanderous manner.

Secondly, *Impenitency, and hardnesse of heart*, for when he was shewed his sinne, and could not but see it, yet to this day, he *never gave any satisfaction*, or testimony of repentance to the party wronged; neither did he suppress the divulging and printing of it, which he might easily have done, had he timely improved his endeavours, which in godlinesse he ought to have done; but it appears in this particular act, *he loved evill more then good*, and slandering more then speaking righteousnesse. *Psal. 52. 3.*

Thirdly, The sinne of him that published in print these things was, his printing slanderous Relations upon so sleight Grounds, without enquiring into the certain truth; yea having been admonished before of such dealings by Mr. *Burroughs*, Mr. *Saltmarsh*, and Mr. *John Goodwin*, and found faulty in the same kinde, and yet goes on in the same trade; surely the Wise man layes a heavy doome on such, *Pro. 29. 1.*

All this shews by wofull experience, that there is a spirit of malice workes in the hearts of Brethren against some of their Brethren more virulent in this kinde, then the Spirit of Episcopacy, striking not only at our peace, libertie, and livelihood, but at our good names and reputations unjustly: which the Bishops never could so touch: But I hope, God will in his time cleare us; as in this particular by his goodnesse he hath done, and all the world may see it, if they will but view this.

Brethren, thus I have given you the truth, which I will avow; if you please to adde any thing within these bounds which is defective; to blot out any thing redundant or unnecessary, or alter any phrases which are harsh or unpolished, I give you free libertie, nay I intreate you as Brethren to doe it, and insert it with your owne, and I will acknowledge my selfe much obliged unto you. I salute you both in the Lord, and desire to be remembered to all the Brethren, and so remaine

Sowerbie March 2
1646.

Your truly loving,
Brother in Christ,

HENRY ROOTE.

From the Bury Street Church Records

THAT portion of the Bury Street Church Book which was rescued from destruction by Mr. Hanbury, and is now preserved in the Congregational Library, breaks off abruptly in 1708-9. Fortunately the unmutilated record had passed through the hands of the Rev. John Rippon, D.D., and portions were copied by him, and printed in the *Baptist Register*, 1800-1801. The extracts, so far as comparison is possible, were not reproduced with such minute accuracy as would now be thought desirable; but for ordinary purposes were fairly adequate. We may therefore regard the following long extract from the destroyed portion, which appeared in the *Baptist Register*, vol. IV., pp. 593 fg., as sufficiently correct to deserve re-printing.

The Customs of this Church in the Celebration of Worship and the exercise of Discipline, as they are practised amongst us at present, 1723.

Though the books of the New Testament contain divine directions in all the most important parts of worship and discipline, yet there are many lesser circumstances that relate to the particular practice of all church affairs, which cannot be at large described in the word of God; but 'tis left to the christian prudence of every church to methodize and order their concerns in such a manner as may keep nearest to the general rules which scripture has given, and may tend most to the honour of Christ, the decent administration of his ordinances, and the edification of the people.

LORD'S DAY WORSHIP.

Our usual celebration of worship on the Lord's day is performed in this manner :

In the morning we begin with singing a psalm, then a short prayer follows to desire the Divine Presence in all the following parts of worship; after that, about half an hour is spent in the exposition of some portion of scripture, which is succeeded by singing a psalm or an hymn. After this the minister prays more at large, for all the variety of blessings, spiritual and temporal, for the whole congregation, with confession of sins, and thanksgiving for mercies; petitions also are offered up for the whole world, for the churches of Christ, for the nation in which we dwell, for all our rulers and governors, together with any particular cases which are represented. Then a sermon is preached, and the morning worship concluded with a short prayer* and the benediction.

The worship of the afternoon is performed in the same manner with this difference, that we omit the first short prayer and the exposition, and sing the psalm, or hymn, just after the sermon which in the morning followed the exposition.

On the third Lord's day in every month there is a public collection made at the door for the necessities of the poor of the church, and for defraying some part of the incidental charges that attend the place of worship, &c. There is also, once a year, a collection made for the support of the poor ministers in the country, which is brought into a general collection which is called the *Fund*, and is here distributed by the ministers and messengers deputed from almost all the churches in the city, who are called Congregational; and on this day the collection for the poor of the church is omitted.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

The first Lord's day in every month the Lord's Supper is administered just after sermon in the afternoon, though it has been sometimes the custom of this church, for the conveniency of the pastor or of particular members, to have the Lord's Supper now and then administered at noon, and particularly in the winter season, when the days are shortest.

The Lord's Supper is administered alternately by the two pastors† in the plainest manner, just according to the institution, (*viz*) first the history of the institution of this ordinance is read, either out of Matthew's gospel or the first ep. Corinthians, that it may ever be kept in mind to regulate every part of the practice; and the sermons of that day being equally suited to the design

* The hymn or psalm which is sung just after the exposition should have been sung just after the sermon; but Mr. Watts, our Pastor, being for several years so much indisposed with nervous disorders, desired the hymn to be sung rather before he went into the pulpit, only because his head was unable to bear the sound.

† Dr. Watts and the Rev. S. Price.

of the Lord's Supper, or a commemoration of the sufferings of Christ 'tis but seldom that any other speech or exhortation is made before the celebration.

The minister, taking hold of the plate in which the bread lies, calls upon the people to join with him in seeking for a blessing on it, which is done in a short prayer of eight or ten minutes. Then the minister says "Having blessed this bread, we break it in remembrance of our Saviour's body, &c." Then the loaves, which are before cut in squares, almost through, are broken by the minister into small pieces, as big as walnuts, or thereabout, and taking the plate of bread in his hand, he says, "This is the body of Christ, or the emblem or figure of the body of Christ, which was broken for you: take it and eat ye all of it, in remembrance of our Saviour who died for us," or such like words, which are a plain declaration that the bread represents the body of Christ, according to his own appointment: it is then distributed by the pastor to the deacons, and to one or two more of the members who are appointed to it, and it is carried by them to the various members of the church. Then, after a short space, an inquiry being made if all have received the bread, and that those who have not received it are desired to stand up and signify it, the pastor proceeds, in like manner, to pour out the wine, at least into one of the cups, then he asks a blessing on the cup; and then distributes it, as before, to the members or the deacons, and they to some other members of the church, by whom it is carried round to all the seats. In many churches, the pastor is frequently speaking proper sentences or texts of scripture, to awaken the faith, hope, and joy of Christians, and I cannot but approve of it in the main. But our former pastor, Dr. Chauncey, was so much against it, that it was not practised among us. But when most of the members, on some particular occasion, met together, the two pastors proposed it to them, whether we should keep up this practice or leave them to their own silent meditations. They seemed generally to approve our silence, and this is the reason we omit it.

After this there is a psalm or hymn sung, suited to the ordinance. Then the plate is sent round to collect for the necessities of the poor. After this, particular cases of the members are represented, who desire the public prayers of the church; and then, with a prayer offered on this occasion, together with thanksgiving and the final benediction, this service is concluded.

Note.—Just before the administration of the Lord's Supper, the pastor makes public mention of any person who is a member of another church, and desires occasional communion with us at that time; then, also, he declares the name and place of abode of any persons who desire to join themselves to us in fixed or constant communion, that the members may take notice of it, and make

due inquiry into their conversation, against the beginning of next month. And as it is at this time that new members are publicly declared to be received into the church, so if any are dead, it is generally declared to the church at this time, that the whole community may be acquainted with it.

FRIDAY BEFORE THE LORD'S SUPPER.

On the Friday, in the afternoon, before the Lord's Supper, there is generally a sermon preached on some evangelical subject; and if any church affairs require it, as the admission, the dismissal, or the seclusion of any member, or any other matter of importance, that relates to the spiritual or temporal concerns of the church, the members are desired to tarry a little for that purpose.

For many years, it has been the custom of the church to spend an hour or two, on the Fridays in the afternoon, together; wherein some of the brethren who are most capable are wont to exercise their gifts in prayer; but the attendance has been so little, and the persons so exceeding few, that for the present it is laid aside, though not without hope of revival.

DEACONS.

There are, at present, four deacons, who take care of all the secular affairs and keep their accounts; two of them collect what is subscribed for the support of the ministry of the church; and the other two concern themselves chiefly for the table of the Lord and the support of the poor: and whensoever it is thought necessary, their accounts are audited by them all.

OF ADMITTING A NEW MEMBER.

The method of receiving a member into our church, who has never yet been received into any communion, is this:—The person desirous of fellowship with us, makes it known to the pastor or pastors, privately; then one or both of them discourses with him, concerning his knowledge of the things of God and the gospel; his hearty profession of repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, according to His various offices; and humble purpose and endeavour to walk with God in the world, and obey Christ in all his institutions, as well as in all moral duties. The minister also generally asks, if he can remember the way and means whereby he was first awakened to a sense of his sin and his danger, and first led to a willing acceptance of Christ and His Gospel. But, we do not make it necessary that he should remember or declare all these particulars, only so far as it may help to give the minister a fuller conviction of his inward serious religion; but this we do not impose on any who declare to us their evidences of true Christianity. If the minister receives satis-

faction from his discourse, he then privately informs one or two of the deacons, or aged and worthy members of the church, concerning it; and having learnt his name, character, business, and place of abode, if he be a stranger to them, they make what inquiry they can concerning the piety of his character, and his conversation in the world; and if it appear agreeable to the Gospel of Christ, they appoint some time when the pastor, and at least one of the brethren, may meet with the person proposing himself, to have some free conversation about the things of God; wherein there is nothing desired but a repetition of the same conference which the pastor before had with him.

Some one of the brethren is usually desired to be present, together with the pastor, at this second discourse with the person desirous of Communion, to witness to the care of the pastor in his examination of persons to be admitted, and to begin an acquaintance with them. It has been also thought proper, on another account, viz. lest some busy and conceited members of the church should be over officious in visiting and examining such a person themselves, under pretence that the pastor has been too remiss in his inquiries. It may be said, that very bashful young persons will speak more freely before the minister alone. This is granted. But inconveniences of this and other kinds will sometimes attend the management of this part of discipline, in all churches. And since these things are not expressly regulated by the Scripture, there is great latitude left for every church, and the officers thereof, to practise, and to alter according to present circumstances and their best discretion, both for the purity and welfare of the church, and for the ease and encouragement of the persons to be admitted.

If the pastor and those brethren, to whom he has communicated the affair, be satisfied with regard to the knowledge, piety, and conversation of the person, his name and place of abode is then mentioned to the whole congregation at the Lord's table, that they may have a month's time for more public inquiry into his behaviour in the world; whether his character be unblemished and honourable. If they hear of any blemishes in his conduct, unsuitable to the character of a Christian, they are desired to let the pastor, or the officers of the Church be speedily acquainted with it, and that privately, that the reputation of any person may not be publicly exposed; and that the matter may be dropt entirely, or delayed till his character be cleared from any such blemish or reproach. Then, on the Friday, in the afternoon, before the Lord's Supper, then the Church are met together, and desired to tarry after the public worship, the pastor declares, that he having heard a good character for seriousness and religion, and nothing blameable or offensive in the conversation of the person lately proposed to the Church, proceeds to acquaint them

with a short account of the profession of his faith, and the reasons of his hope, which the pastor has received from him ; and if there be anything peculiar and edifying in the methods of his conversion, the pastor declares it to the Church for their edification, so far as the person has communicated to the pastor with leave to declare it to the Church. Note, This profession is written by the person himself, or by the pastor from his mouth, as the person himself shall choose.

This being done, the pastor declares, that as himself and one or two of the brethren had been well satisfied with their conversation with the person, so he hoped that this account of things would also satisfy them, that the person was a credible professor of Christianity, and had a right to communion in all ordinances : and if they acquiesce in this account, and are willing to receive him to their communion, they are desired to signify their consent either by their silence, or the lifting up of their hands ; which being done a short prayer or thanksgiving is offered to God.

Note, though the person thus publicly approved, be hereby made a member of the church, yet he is not formally declared so till the Lord's day following, when a greater number of the members are present ; that so the whole congregation may see the face and know the person who is to be received a member amongst them.

Then on the following Lord's day, just before the Lord's Supper, the pastor speaks in this manner to the person, placed somewhere near him, and in the face of the whole church : " The account of your conversation, together with the profession of your faith has been repeated to the church, and they have declared their readiness to receive you into their fellowship : Are you now, therefore, willing to give up yourself to our Lord Jesus Christ, and to walk with Him in all his ordinances in this church, so far as Christ shall instruct and enable you ? " The person declaring his consent, the pastor replies to him in this manner : " I do therefore, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the consent of this church, receive you to fellowship with us, in all privileges and institutions of the Gospel, charging you so to walk as to adorn the profession which you have now made ; professing in my own name, and in the name of the church, to watch over you and discharge our several duties unto you by the assistance of divine grace. "

RECEIVING A MEMBER FROM ANOTHER CHURCH TO FIXED COMMUNION.

From a Congregational Church.

If the person who desires communion with us has been or is a member of another Church of Christ, that walks according to the same faith and order which we observe, and the reasons of

his desire to change his Communion are just, we then desire a letter of dismissal from that church to which he belongs, which is, or ought to be, attended with some good character of the person who is thus dismissed. This letter being read to the church, and no objection made against the person, or the reason of his dismissal, the church declares their satisfaction and readiness to receive him into their communion, in silence or lifting up their hands; this is usually done on the Friday before the Lord's Supper. Then on the Lord's day, the person is received into the communion, by the pastor addressing himself to him, and declaring the Church's consent to receive him, and giving him a charge, to walk in this church with diligence and holy watchfulness, as through the grace of Christ he had been enabled to do in the church to which he was before related: using expressions near akin to those used in the foregoing case.

Note.—If the person come from a Baptist church, where their discipline is Congregational, we receive them in the same manner, when they will dismiss them to us; but this they seldom will do, as supposing us not to be baptized.

From a Presbyterian Church.

But if the person who desires our communion hath been a member of such a church as never requires any particular account of their Christian profession, and the reasons of their hope, to be given to them, but are contented with a general account of their knowledge and their blameless conversation given only to the pastor: then we use this method, viz., if the reasons of his desire of changing his place of communion be just and approved, we first desire an account and recommendation of this person from his pastor, either by letter or discourse; and such a recommendation, when given to us, is received and accepted by us, so far as concerns the knowledge and blameless conversation of the person, which is all that his former pastor required, so far as we know. But we then usually desire some account of the reasons of his hope, and relate them to the church on the Friday before the Sacrament, upon which he is received to our communion solemnly, the following Lord's Day.

Note.—In receiving a member to our church who hath been in communion with any other church, of any denomination whatsoever, we generally let the church know of it three or four weeks beforehand, that if there should be any blemish or scandal attending him, which was not known to the other church, we may have time and opportunity to inquire into it; and though several members of our church are ever so well acquainted with the person to be admitted, yet we usually give the same notice, that no offence may be taken in treating others so.

Note.—If any such objection be made against a person who is

proposed to the church, as gives reason to delay or forbid his admission, we drop the matter, as privately as may be, that no public disreputation may fall on the person on that account; though we generally make all the enquiries we can, before we bring matters into the church, that if possible there may be no stop to our proceedings afterwards.

OCCASIONAL COMMUNION.

When any person who is a member of another church among the three Denominations of Dissenters, viz. Presbyterian, Independent, or Baptist, desires occasional communion with us, for one or two months or more, for special and justifiable reasons; viz. their present distance from the place of worship, in sickness or death of the pastor, their desire of communicating sometimes with the rest of their family, etc. We then only give notice of it to the church just before the first time of their communion with us; provided always that we know the person, or that he be recommended to us by his own pastor, or by some persons whose testimony we can entirely rely upon.

It may be objected here, Why do you receive a member of a Presbyterian Church to occasional communion with you, and yet require a more particular account of him when he desires constant or fixed communion? To this we reply, That it is a matter of much more importance to receive a person into our congregation as a part and member of the Society, as one of our own body, and in order to worship always with us, and have a vote in all church affairs; than it is to receive one merely to sit down at the Lord's table occasionally, and eat and drink once or twice with us at this ordinance: so that we think the mere reason of things and Christian prudence gives us just ground to make a more particular inquiry into the character of the person in one case than in the other; just as any master of a family would be more solicitous whom he admitted to dwell in his house, than whom he admitted to dine there; and be more strict in inquiries about the one than the other.

Now if persons continue more than a twelvemonth in occasional communion with us, we think it proper to give them notice that they should either return and communicate with their own pastor and people, or that they should be dismissed entirely to us, in order to become members of the Society with which they constantly communicate; unless they give us some satisfactory reason for their continuance in this occasional communion.

In all these affairs that relate to the recommendation, dismissal, and occasional communion of the members of other churches joining with us, we endeavour to practice the same with regard to our own members, when they desire communion with other

churches, as is here declared ; following herein the great rule of our Saviour, "Do to others as you would have others do to you."

If any of our members fall into sinful practices, which give public offence to the world or to the church ; or if they professedly depart from the doctrines which we think necessary to Christianity ; or if they wilfully separate and absent themselves utterly from our communion for a year or two, without any sufficient or justifiable cause, then, upon our notice of it, the pastor, or some one of the members that are best acquainted with him, is desired privately to inquire of them the reason of their conduct ; if this does not reclaim them, two or three members of the church to repeat the same inquiry : if this has no effect, the church is acquainted with it on some week day of our church meeting, and messengers are sent from the church to expostulate the case with him : and if no methods are effectual for reclaiming them, after due delays, and having reported the whole matter to the church, and sentiments of the church are required about it ; and upon the concurrent vote of the Church, according to the Rule of Scripture, we "withdraw from those that walk disorderly," and declare them to belong to our communion no more. And thus we free ourselves from any further care of them as fellow members, and secure the church from the scandal which such members would or might bring upon it, according to the rule of Christ. Note.—We practise the same thing, when any member departs and declares he will come no more.

Note.—If the crime be of a most gross, profligate, and notorious nature, and proved by sufficient evidence to the church, then the sinner is excluded from the society in a most solemn manner, and declared unfit for Christian fellowship, at least till there be evident and sufficient testimonials given of his repentance. But in cases of less scandal or offence, we make much longer delays, and deal with persons by repeated admonitions ; and we use greater patience and tenderness, in hope to reclaim them to their duty, without proceeding to any public censure.

OF RESTORING MEMBERS.

When any person, after long and wilful separation from the church, that has given just offence, or especially after any censure past upon him, desires to return to the church again, there is a fresh inquiry made into his late conversation, as well as into his repentance and acknowledgment of his miscarriage ; which being reported to the church, such a person is again received to the fellowship of the church, if there be no objection made against it by any of the members : but if any such objection be made, it is always desired that it may be done privately beforehand ; and the matter is delayed until this objection be removed.

OF EXAMINATION OF MEMBERS TO BE ADMITTED
SOMETIMES BY THE PASTOR ALONE.

Let it be observed here, that these were the customs of the church, which for many years had been practised among us, with regard to the admission and exclusion of members. But about the year 1728, the deacons complained to the minister, that when they were present with them to hear the profession of faith and hope of persons who desired to enter into our communion; those persons did not speak so largely, nor so freely as the account which the ministers before gave them, concerning their profession; and that they saw so little advantage of any of the brethren being joined with the ministers in the examination of them, by reason of bashfulness and silence of the persons, that they thought it a needless thing to require this, their presence and attendance at the examination of the persons proposed; unless the persons themselves had so much courage, or such acquaintance with one or more of the deacons or church members as to declare their freedom to speak of their Christian experiences and hope in their presence; from which time the pastors, one or both of them, have conversed with the persons who desired church fellowship, and who were not free to converse with other members on this subject: and when the pastor has related to the church the substance of that conversation, it has been esteemed a sufficient satisfaction; always supposing the enquiry to be made by any member of the church concerning their pious conversation, and report of it made to the church.

Puritanism in the Peak

[The following account, partly gathered from the memoirs of Bagshaw and Ashe, partly from the *Protestant Dissenters Magazine*, 1798, and partly from notes communicated by Surgeon General Evatt, C.B., serves to illustrate the way in which the investigation of family tradition may contribute to the recovery of lost or forgotten history.]

ASHFORD is a Derbyshire village, about two miles north-west of Bakewell. It possesses a public hall or "village institute," on which may be seen a stone inscribed "Presbyterian Chapel, erected 1702, repaired 1841." This building, still in fair preservation, is a visible memorial of the ministry of the Rev. William Bagshaw, commonly called "The Apostle of the Peak." A somewhat copious narrative of his life and labours may be found in the *Nonconformists' Memorial*. It may therefore suffice to say he was born in 1628, at Litton in the parish of Tideswell, where "the Bagshaw family were local squires and well-to-do folk." He seems to have received his education in two country grammar schools; and early felt himself called to the work of the ministry. After preaching for about three months in the chapel of Wormhill in Tideswell parish, and afterwards at Attercliffe as assistant to the Rev. James Fisher, he was ordained at Chesterfield on 1st January, 1650, and soon after was called to the parochial charge of Glossop, where he ministered about 11 years. Being ejected by the Act of Uniformity, he took up his abode on his own estate at Ford Hall, Chapel-en-le-Frith,

where a representative of the family still resides. Thenceforth, in season and out of season, in spite of legal obstacles and the peril of informers, he did the work of an evangelist throughout the Hundred of High Peak. He gathered regular congregations in seven or eight places, amongst which he itinerated; his most frequent ministrations being at Malcoffe (apparently a farm near Ford Hall), and at Ashford. *The Presbyterian Survey*, 1691, says: "Mr. Bagshaw, aged 63, supplies Tideswell, Chinley, Ashford, Middleton, Chelmarton, Chawsworth [Charlesworth], and Hucklow: has a considerable estate." In this widely extended pastorate he seems to have been assisted from time to time by several young men who were preparing for the ministry, and who boarded near him for the benefit of his instruction and counsel. A Mr. Sidebottom, of whom we find mention as specially connected with Ashford, may have been one of these. For a long time Mr. Bagshaw regularly preached on alternate Sundays at Ashford; where the meeting-house was built in the last year of his life. His last sermon was preached at Ford Hall, to the Malcoffe congregation, only ten days before his death, which took place on 1st April, 1702. He published several volumes of practical divinity, mostly the substance of sermons, and a treatise of great interest entitled *De Spiritualibus Peccati: Notes or notices concerning the Work of God and some that have been workers together with Him in the High Peak*. In his will, dated 15th October, 1701, he declares himself "A member of the truly Catholic and Universal Church, and an honourer of that famous part thereof that is in Old and New England; and also holding inward communion with all the faithful, and outward with all the owners of the truth as far as I can without

sin ; and longing for a more full and Scriptural Reformation." He bequeaths small sums to the poor of Litton, Glossop, and Wormhill ; and 35 shillings yearly, secured by a rent charge on certain land at Wormhill, "to and for the encouraging of serious preaching and preachers, who may not, according to some late laws, officiate in the most public places."

Bagshaw was succeeded in his pastorate at Malcoffe by the Rev. Jas. Clegg, M.D. ; and at Ashford by the Rev. John Ashe. Susannah Bagshaw, the sister of William, married first William Butler, and secondly Edward Ashe of Tideswell. John Ashe was their son, born in 1671. At the age of seventeen he entered Frankland's academy at Rathmell ; on leaving which he engaged as chaplain to Lady Sarah Hoghton, of Hoghton Tower, Lancashire. On the death of Mr. Sidebottom, before mentioned, he was called to assist his uncle, and was ordained in Malcoffe meeting-house about midsummer, 1696. The ministers who assisted, in addition to Mr. Bagshaw, were the Revs. Samuel Angier, of Duckenfield ; Gamaliel Jones, of Chadkirk ; Eaton, of Macclesfield ; and Byrom, of Stockport.* During Bagshaw's life he usually preached two Sundays in the month at Ashford, one at Chelmarton, and one either at Hucklow or Bradwell.

Mr. Ashe was a diligent and laborious pastor. "He always preached to one or other of his congregations on all the common festivals of the year ; as well as at the adjacent villages at the time of their respective wakes or feasts ; embracing the leisure the miners then had, as an opportunity for promoting their eternal welfare." He fre-

* With Mr. Ashe were ordained the Rev. William Bagshaw, junr., of Stannington, near Sheffield ; the Rev. Joseph Foxlow, of Chesterfield and Stony Middleton ; the Rev. — Hargroves, of Leek, afterwards of St. Ives ; and the Rev. Geo. Lowe, of Norton, near Sheffield, afterwards assistant to Mr. Ashe.

quently preached occasional lectures at Litton, Tideswell, and other places; and was in frequent request for ordinations, ministers' meetings, etc. His uncompromising loyalty exposed him to some danger during the Jacobite rising in 1715, when the meeting-house at Bradwell was destroyed. About this time he found it necessary to procure assistance. His first assistant was Mr. Trout, a student from Attercliff; next the Rev. Geo. Lowe, already mentioned, who died in 1717. Then followed Mr. D. Clark (brother of Dr. Clark of St. Albans), who resided at Hucklow. Another assistant was a Mr. Thomas Bott, who afterwards conformed, and became rector of a parish in Norfolk. He was succeeded by Mr. Joseph Hankinson, of Altrincham, whose very helpful co-operation was ended by a call to the pastorate of Wirksworth in the summer of 1727.

Soon after this Mr. Ashe's strength began to decline. In 1731 it became unsafe for him to travel; and he relinquished the charge of Hucklow and Bradwell to the Rev. Robert Kelsall (from Pool Bank, near Altrincham), who maintained an exemplary pastorate for 41 years, dying on 23rd June, 1772, at the age of 73. He is described as a scholarly man, who subsisted on a stipend of £24 a year, yet "ne'er had changed or wished to change his place."

Mr. Ashe was a great collector of theological literature, sometimes spending more than the amount of his salary in the purchase of books. He was not a voluminous writer, his published works being: *An Account of the Life and Character of William Bagshaw*, 1704; and a few sermons. A volume of sermons was a posthumous publication. By his will he bequeathed the interest of £20 to the dissenting minister of Ashford and his successors, for preaching two sermons a year

—on New Year's Day and Whit Monday, that being the day of the annual wakes. This legacy was put out to interest and lost by failure of the security. Mr. Ashe also bequeathed a selection from his library for the use of his successors ; but the list could not be found.

Mr. Ashe died somewhat suddenly. His epitaph, in Ashford churchyard, reads as follows :

In memory of John Ashe, minister of the gospel ; whose mind was enriched with that learning and piety, that candour and humility, that simplicity and godly sincerity, that greatly adorned his inoffensive and useful life : which suddenly and happily ended his labours in his 64th year, Octr 2 : 1735.

The next minister at Ashford of whom we have any knowledge is the Rev. Samuel Evatt ; whether or not he was the immediate successor of Ashe is uncertain. He is *believed* to have descended from a rather notable family of Puritan clergymen, of whom these names are recorded :

- (1) Thomas Evatt ; rector of South Stoke, Lincolnshire, 1566-1589.
- (2) Richard Evatt, son of Thomas ; rector of Burton Pedwardine, Lincolnshire, 1589-1603 ; vicar of Stamford-Baron (the parish of Burleigh House) 1603-1622, to which he was appointed by Thomas Cecil, first Earl of Exeter ; in addition to this he held the rectory of St. John, Stamford, from 1604, and that of St. Mary, Stamford, from 1615.
- (3) Anthony Evatt, son of Richard ; rector of Whepstead, Suffolk, 1629-1642, to which he was appointed by Edward Cecil, viscount Wimbledon, son of the first Earl of Exeter.
- (4) Robert Evatt, brother of Thomas (No. 1) ; rector of Little Ellingham, Norfolk, 1586-1608. He had two sons :
- (5) John Evatt, dean of Elphin, 1612-1634 ; appointed through the Cecil influence : from him the Irish Evatts are descended.
- (6) William Evatt, brother of John (No. 5), of whom no particulars are available. We also meet with a second
- (7) Robert Evatt, parentage uncertain ; rector of Sibley, Leicestershire, 1612-1618 ; rector of Horsley, Derbyshire,

1618-1642, to which he was appointed by Philip Stanhope, first Earl of Chesterfield.

It is *supposed* that the Rev. Samuel Evatt of Ashford was descended from either (5) or (6). His father, John Evatt, was in 1739 a trustee of Friargate chapel, Derby; and his brother was churchwarden in one of the parishes in the town of Derby; a couple of facts which may possibly furnish a clue to the actual descent. However, Samuel was for many years private secretary to William Bagshaw of Ford Hall (probably a grandson of the ejected minister). A number of his letters are still preserved there among the family archives. Mr. Bagshaw by his will made good the small endowment which Mr. Ashe had bequeathed to the minister of Ashford, and which had been lost by failure of security. He also bequeathed £400 to Mr. Evatt in appreciation of his services. This sum was duly paid by the heir, and Mr. Evatt's receipt is still extant. William Bagshaw died in 1756; his nephew and heir, Colonel Samuel Bagshaw, was then in India. Pending his return Mr. Evatt acted as agent for the estate.

By a deed dated 29th September, 1761, between the Rev. Samuel Evatt and Samuel Bagshaw of Ford, Esq., the sum of £180 deposited in the hands of Mr. Evatt by Thomas Roose and others, for charitable purposes, was declared to be on trust to pay forty shillings to the dissenting minister at Ashford, twenty shillings to the master of the grammar school, and forty-eight shillings to the said Samuel Evatt so long as he should continue minister of the Presbyterian chapel at Ashford, and after the ceasing of that ministry to be laid out in bread and distributed weekly to the poorest inhabitants. The following are named as trustees: Thomas Froggott of Bakewell, John

Wilkinson and Richard Slater of Chesterfield, Samuel White, George White, and George Hall of Ashford, Joseph Blackden of Sheldon, and John Smith of Great Roosley (?). By another deed between Samuel Evatt and Benjamin Mather and others, the £20 bequeathed by William Bagshaw to replace the lost endowment was transferred to the trustees.

Mr. Evatt ministered to the congregations at Ashford and Stony Middleton for many years; but at length conformed, and died in the communion of the Established Church. The dates of his resignation and death we have not been able to discover.

Mr. Kelsall having, somewhat late in life, ventured on a share in a mine, it turned out so profitable that he was in comfortable circumstances for the rest of his days. The chapel at Bradwell being in a ruinous condition, he by way of a thankoffering rebuilt it, chiefly at his own expense. Dying in 1772, he was succeeded by a Mr. Boulton from Macclesfield; who together with Hucklow and Bradwell took charge of Stony Middleton. By this time the congregation at Ashford was so reduced, and the chapel so much gone to decay, that worship there was almost discontinued. According to Josiah Thompson's list, 1773, it was then "occasionally supplied." Mr. Boulton's successor, Mr. Daniel Gronow, "preached now and then at Ashford." He was followed by a Mr. Evans; in whose time Samuel Shore, Esq., of Meersbrook, near Sheffield, and Robert Newton, Esq., of Norton, practically rebuilt the chapel, and invested £300 in 3 per cent. consols for the benefit of the minister. Mr. Evans added the charge of Ashford to his other pastorates; and from that time to 1798 the four congregations were united under one minister, Mr.

Evans having been followed by the Rev. Astley Meanley, and he by the Rev. Mr. Allard. The whole group appears by this time to have become Unitarian.

The Protestant Dissenters' Magazine for 1798 says that at that date "the congregation at Ashford is small, but regular and attentive. That at Hucklow is numerous, serious, and affectionate to their minister, though so poor they are not able to do much toward his support. Middleton is on the increase; the minds of the people seem lately awakened there to a concern about their eternal interest. At Bradwell the congregation has long been made up of casual attendants of all religious denominations."

In Lysons' *History of Derbyshire*, 1817, it is stated that the chapel at Ashford "was supplied by a minister from Hucklow; it is still in existence, and has of late been occupied by various sects." In 1830 it was in the hands of Unitarians. In 1870 it was acquired by the Congregational church at Bakewell. For some years it stood unoccupied; it was then rented by a Young Men's Christian Association for a meeting-room. "They, in time, liquidated; and it is now held by an Ashford man for the young men of Ashford."

Abraham Caley

IN our last issue we briefly noticed a short memoir, by Mrs. C. Skinner, of the Rev. Abraham Caley, of Rayleigh, an almost forgotten worthy of the Bartholomew evictions. The only published work of Mr. Caley, so far as is known, is a small volume entitled *A Glimpse of Eternity*; which the *Nonconformists' Memorial* calls "a book great in value, though small in bulk and price." But amongst the volumes given or bequeathed to the Congregational Library by the late Joshua Wilson is a MS. of 372 folio pages, entitled *The Pilgrim Saints, and somewhat of the Good and Evil they meet with*. It is quite anonymous; but on parchment slips at each end is the name "Benjamin Caley," with the date 1672, that being the year in which Abraham Caley died. Mr. Wilson reasonably conjectured that the treatise might be the work of Abraham Caley; and that conjecture is raised to something approaching certainty by the careful examination to which the MS. has been subjected by Mrs. Skinner. She writes as follows:

"I think the writer of this book was Abraham Caley of Rayleigh. No one who has dipped into its pages could think for a moment that Benjamin Caley, who wrote the doggerel on the parchment slip, was the author of such stately thoughts. I think these 23 sermons were written before the book was bound. The paper varies in quality, and the margins vary. May it not be that they were sent by Abraham Caley to be read at gatherings of his old flock during the years he was absent from them? In Sermon I he warns them of the dangers they are in, that might overtake them even during the night. Many such gatherings were held during the night. The general title is *The Pilgrim Saints, and*

some of the good and evil that they meet with. No topic better suited to the times could have been chosen.

“The sermons display the same wonderful knowledge of Scripture as the published *Glimpse of Eternity*, and the same march of thought; but not the same wealth of literary quotations, which could hardly be expected if written away from his books. The sermon “Leaning on her Beloved” has many beautiful passages, and well deserves publication. There is a tenderness of tone throughout the MS. which is not found in the *Glimpse*, and which suggests that the writer had been mellowed by trial.

“The preface is headed *The writer to his children*. He states his belief that *some of them* have their faces to the light; a phrase rather unlikely if his natural children were meant, seeing that they were only two. But it was quite natural that he should write thus if refering to his spiritual children, or the children of his parish. It is conceivable that the words *may* have been intended to disarm suspicion in case the papers should get into wrong hands: but if he had meant the children of his family he would surely have placed his name, or at least initials, at the foot.

“Benjamin Caley was Abraham’s nephew, and brother to Mrs. Bull, the niece in whose house he died in July, 1672. Abraham’s daughter Mildred administered his estate in October following, and no doubt gave the book to her cousin Benjamin. This would explain the name and date on the parchment slips at each end.” C. S.

The Origin of Nonconformity in Sheffield

THE broad outlines of the origin of Nonconformity in Sheffield have often been sketched, but with a bare monotony of reiteration ; for while surface facts, intermingled with inaccuracies, have been handed down from one writer to another, there has been a marked absence of illuminating touches calculated to give life and vigour to the picture. Calamy's accounts of the Yorkshire clergy ejected in 1662 are believed to have been largely based on information collected by Oliver Heywood. The Rev. Joseph Hunter, though hampered by what he called the almost criminal remissness of the old Dissenters in neglecting to record matters affecting their interests, was able, by his wide local knowledge, to enlarge Calamy's outlines. But Hunter's usual fairness was warped by ancestral and denominational prejudice against the Independents, whom he never appreciated ; and his reverence was concentrated on the form of Nonconformity which, with misleading looseness, he persisted in calling Presbyterian. Later writers have had to content themselves with repetitions of the old conventional story. The late Rev. Bryan Dale spent years in ransacking all available sources, but he, with his editor, drew them almost blank.

The *Nonconformist Memorial* statement that the Rev. James Fisher was ejected from the vicarage of Sheffield "in 1662," has always been accepted as meaning that he was silenced through non-compliance with the Act of Uniformity. It is proposed here to adduce some reasons for thinking that he was put out by the earlier Act, of September, 1660, for the restoration of clergy to livings sequestered under the Commonwealth. A consideration of these may be helped by a brief retrospective glance at Sheffield's ecclesiastical experiences.

At the Reformation the living was held by Sir Robert Gawthorpe, the last of a long series of vicars inducted by the priory of Worksop. There were also several chantry priests. Significantly close to the passing of the Act of Supremacy, vicar Gawthorpe obtained a licence of non-residence for three years, "to enable him to study." This is dated 1st June, 1536. When the three years had expired Worksop Priory had been dissolved, and Gawthorpe's "study" had reconciled his conscience to submission

to the new ecclesiastical rule. He was equally compliant when Queen Mary restored the old religion.

Sheffield was a self-governing democracy: its affairs were regulated, and its revenues administered, by the freeholders in public meeting. Beyond this power in secular matters, the burgesses exercised some control over the church's temporal affairs: as maintenance of the fabric; and the churchwardens' accounts had to be annually submitted for approval. About the time of Gawthorpe's non-residence the burgesses further acquired a distinct voice in the appointment of the clergy, by deciding to set apart a portion of the town's funds for the support of chaplains to assist the Vicar in the conduct of divine service, the administration of the sacraments, and the visitation of the sick. This plan had been in operation for some thirteen years, when, by an unjust straining of the Chantries and Superstitious Uses Act of Edward VI, the property allocated to the support of the chaplains was seized by the Crown. Queen Mary, on her accession, rejected a petition for the restoration of this property, but vested it in trustees for the sustentation of three chaplains, by the title of Assistant Ministers, any residue to be employed for certain prescribed secular purposes. The trustees were incorporated by charter, under the title of "The Twelve Capital Burgesses and Commonalty." The tenure of the three chaplains then in office was perpetuated, although it was represented that they had taken advantage of the disturbed times wholly to neglect their duties. One of them had been reported by Edward the Sixth's Commissioners as "sixty years of age and impotent." Like their Vicar they complacently accepted the abandonment of Edward's Protestantism for the Popery of Mary; and some of them, at least, conformed to the next reversal from Mary to Elizabeth.¹

Vicar Gawthorpe lived just long enough once more to abjure Mariolatry, but from his death in the first year of Elizabeth the Protestant family which had acquired the advowson steadily presented Low Church Vicars, while the Capital Burgesses took every opportunity of appointing Assistant Ministers of like mind.

The normal harmony between clergy and people was broken for a short period during the commotions of the civil wars. The Royalists garrisoning Sheffield castle not only made themselves obnoxious by imposing heavy exactions on the town's folk, but affronted their religious feelings by installing Edward Browne,

¹ The Assistant Minister arrangement continued until recent times. The duties they discharged were much like those of curates, but their legal position was very different. They held their office by a freehold tenure; and, not being the servants of the vicar, harmonious working depended on considerateness and good feeling. Apart from minor frictions, and an occasional necessity for a minister to pay a substitute, the somewhat anomalous system worked fairly well in practice. Only once was there a real trial of strength as to the power of the Vicar to exclude an Assistant from the ministrations of the church, and it ended in a drawn battle.

a Vicar holding Laudian views, and by ejecting the minor clergy. An Assistant Minister of their choosing, Thomas Barney, busied himself aggressively on the King's side, and mocked the inhabitants by "knowling the great bell for Mr. Browne, his possession into the vicarage of Sheffield, being his proxit." It was Mr. Barney, too, who signed the formal record of the High Church Vicar's induction. Popular resentment expressed itself in doggrell satire :

"A man in black, whose name is Brown,
Woe and alack! is come to town,
And will in superstition drown
The Rabble."

The Royalist triumph was short-lived. In a few months (August 11th, 1644) a Parliamentary force captured the castle, swept the intruders from the church, and restored the rightful occupants. One of the returning ministers had been ejected also from the mastership of the grammar school. He claimed payment of the salary accruing during his absence from the desk, and, backed by a peremptory order from Fairfax, got it.

Another Assistant Minister was made Vicar, vice Browne deposed. This was the Rev. Thomas Birkbeck. When he left, in 1646, to enter on the rectory of Ackworth, the Rev. James Fisher became his successor.

The conditions under which Fisher discharged his spiritual functions here were doubtless the counterpart of those existing in other parts of the country during the Commonwealth. These are so familiar to students of ecclesiastical history, that learned writers would perhaps have drawn the picture more vividly had they remembered how hard it is for the ordinary man, influenced by long accumulated associations, to conceive of a venerable parish church in which the rubrics of the *Book of Common Prayer* are never observed, and where the stately arches echo, not to a stately ritual, but to the sounds of a service scarcely distinguishable from the extempore praying, the psalm-singing, and the lengthy preaching of any old style, bare-walled meeting-house. Still more difficult is it to realise that while the religious exercises open to every parishioner were of this kind, there was an inner sanctuary exclusively reserved for a select society, whose members were bound by the most solemn obligations; were self-governing, with executive leaders, and had a chosen pastor, often, as in Sheffield, the Vicar of the parish.

Professor Lyon Turner in an illuminating article² has recently cited the case of a church in Berkshire which may be accepted as typical of what occurred in Sheffield. There may be found in Dr. Stoughton's *Ecclesiastical History of England* other illustrations

² Cong. Hist. Soc. *Transactions* vi. 26, 27.

which, amid many variations adapted to the special circumstances of each locality, tell, broadly the same story.³ Some, like Thomas Jollie, held the dual position of parish priest and Congregational pastor to be incompatible, or at least undesirable; for when contemplating removal from Altham to Whalley, he insisted that he would not be presented "under any notion of a vicar, but simply" as the preacher or minister of the gospel.⁴ Yet it would appear that where there was accord between incumbent and parishioners, a little give-and-take sufficed to smoothe over any difficulties.

And it may be supposed that in this spirit questionings on the knotty problem of administration of the sacraments, and especially of the Communion, were met. In view of the strict Congregational conception of the sanctity of the Lord's Table, and the care taken to guard it against profanation by the unworthy, it would not have been surprising if the moderation which permitted joint devotional services had broken down here. Dr. Stoughton gives a dramatic report of a colloquy between a Judge of assize and a certain Thomas Palmer, prevented by his scruples (like some High Churchmen of to-day) from conceding the legal right of all non-scandalous parishioners to participation.⁵ But this was no doubt the exceptional attitude of an extreme man, and the compromise usually adopted is probably indicated by the Winchcombe case cited by the same writer,⁶ where the responsibility of partaking was, "after solemn warning against the sin of unfitness, thrown upon the individual conscience.

That, before the great disruption, mixed Communion was ordinarily permissible may be inferred from the wording of one of the rules of the church subsequently (1676) founded near Sheffield by two of Fisher's colleagues :

" 10. That *for the present* no person shall be admitted into communion with the said church in the Lord's Supper who doth communicate with the parochiall assemblies in that ordinance as it is now administered there . . . Yet it is not intended as any censure upon the present parochiall churches, nor on any that communicate with them, nor upon parochiall churches as such; but it is intended only to prevent such danger to persons' soules, and also such scandalls and prejudices to the said church as *might accrue in regard of some present circumstances* of the times and of this neighbourhood."⁷

Incidentally it is curious to note that not only did the services

³ *Stoughton, vol. II, especially Chaps. viii and ix.*

⁴ *Cong. Hist. Soc. Transactions* vi. 170.

⁵ *Ecclesiastical History* Vol. II. 212.

⁶ *Ib.* page 297.

⁷ *Hunter's Hallamshire, p. 287.*

in the parish churches of the Commonwealth approximate closely to our Nonconformist models, but that the methods of "calling" ministers shew an historic anticipation of the procedure familiar to us in the Congregational body today. Reading the minutes of the Sheffield Capital Burgesses at times when it became necessary to elect a new Assistant Minister, is, in substance, very much like perusing the records of a modern church meeting, or a church treasurer's accounts. Take the following as illustrations :

"7 Nov., 1655. To three ministers who came to preach at Sheffeld upon tryall, £2 10 0.

"10 Nov., 1656. To Mr. Pryme, by order, for preaching a Sermon before he was hyred, £1."

And there are entries which shew that the practice of paying the new parson's removal expenses also obtained then. References to casual "supplies," too, have a very modern ring :

"6 Nov. 1656. To Mr. Fisher, of Rotherham for preaching at Ecclesall 2 dayes, £1 0 0.

Mr. Ogden, preaching at Sheffield, one day."

Evidence that there was in Sheffield a "Reformed Church" of the kind we have been describing, with James Fisher, as pastor, simultaneously discharging his parochial duties as vicar, is scanty but convincing. In *Yorkshire Puritanism and Early Nonconformity*⁸ the late Rev. Bryan Dale says that, "while still holding his office as Vicar, Fisher formed an independent society, or church, of which he acted as pastor, before the year 1652." Mr. Dale does not cite the authority for this statement, but possibly it is based on the words of Fisher himself, in his *Wise Virgin*. On the title page of that he calls himself not Vicar, but "A Minister of Christ and Preacher of the Gospel at Sheffeld"; and, speaking of Anthony Hatfield's *Relation* of the Wise Virgin's recovery, he says: "The Copy of this Relation I received on the 9th of December (1652) when the officers and members of the church of Christ in Sheffeld were met in private conference."⁹

When Charles II recovered the throne the Sheffield clergy, colleagues of Vicar Fisher, were Edward Prime, Matthew Bloom and William Stone. Of the sentiments of Stone there is no indication; Prime and Bloom were Puritans, like-minded with their chief.

The Act for the Restoration of Sequestered Clergy became law in September, 1660, and the Rev. Thomas Barney, removed in 1644, immediately put in a claim for re-entry, with payment of

Page 58.

The Wise Virgin, edition 1653, p. 149.

"arrears" of salary accumulated throughout the years of his exclusion. The Capital Burgesses declined to entertain either demand, and, on Stone's resignation a few months later,¹⁰ elected the Rev. Rowland Hancock, who had been supplanted at Ecclesfield by the reinstatement of his Royalist predecessor. But the law was too strong for the burgesses, and after struggling against it for nearly two years, they displaced Hancock, restored Barney, and compromised his financial claims by paying £20. It was on the 14th August, 1662, that Hancock thus suffered his second ejection before the Act of Uniformity came into operation. On Black Bartholomew Day Prime and Bloom, refusing to conform, went out; the one with £35 16 8 in his pocket, and the other with £25. These were their "wages" up to the 24th of August; and may be taken as equivalent to something like £200 and £150 in present values. Their places were taken by a certain Cuthbert Browne, who would not have come well out of an inquisition by Cromwell's Triers¹¹; and William Gardiner, who, unless it be a case of mistaken identity, lived to be described as "a poor, drunken curate."¹² His father, Rector of Eckington, near Sheffield, could trim his sails to the passing breeze. When publishing a sermon preached at the Derby assizes, in 1653, he called himself "Minister of the Gospel at Eckington." Before 1662 he had bought the advowson: clearly a rather special inducement to adapt views "published not for contention but satisfaction," on "the excellence, necessity, consistencie of magistracy and ministry under the gospel," to the new order of things.

So far for the Assistant Ministers; what of the Vicar? It has been seen that in the neighbourhood of Sheffield, as elsewhere, the provisions of the Clergy Restoration Act of September, 1660, were promptly and drastically enforced. Before the Act of Uniformity became operative Rowland Hancock had been turned out from Ecclesfield, Barney had recovered his position at Sheffield, and Thomas Birkbeck, Fisher's predecessor, had come back to the town, an exile from Ackworth. Is it likely that the Rev. Edward Browne, with the successful action of his old ally Barney before him, would abstain from asserting his claim to the vicarage until Fisher refused his "unfeigned assent and consent"? That he did obtain possession we know, but when? Before St. Bartholomew's Day, or after?

Fisher's name has not, apparently, been found in any of the

¹⁰ He remained in the neighbourhood until his death in 1717, but he is not found among those who, on either side, took part in religious duties. He had married into a well-to-do family, and owned property.

¹¹ Hunter's *Hallamshire*, p. 413.

¹² Cox's *Derbyshire Churches*, s.v. Eckington, p. 230.

lists of the 1660 displacement.¹³ But the Sheffield Burgery Records¹⁴ contain the following entry, which can only be interpreted as shewing that, a few months after the Restoration, Fisher had been driven from the vicarage, and compelled to seek a house for himself and rooms for his flock :

“November the 26th, 1660. Memorandum : That the day and year above written it was agreed by us whose names are subscribed, and by several other persons then present, that Mr. James Fisher shall have and enjoy such roomes of the workhouse as were formerly in the occupation of Mr. Whittaker, under the yearly rent of three poundes at Pentecost and Martinmass therefor to be paid.”

The signatures appended are those of sixteen townsmen of influence, some doubtless members of Fisher's scattered fellowship, and many, certainly, attached to the Nonconformist church where it now rallied. Several shared with him persecution in the evil days that were to come.

Additional probability is given to the suggestion that 1660, not 1662, marks the date of Fisher's ejection and the founding of Sheffield's first Nonconformist church by what can be ascertained, slight though it be, as to the circumstances of Browne's return. The date of his re-induction is not found, but he had already resigned, to enter upon another preferment, *before* the 30th October, 1662.¹⁵ That is such quick work from the 24th August that, unless the re-entry was merely a formal assertion of right, 1660 seems a more likely date.

That the atmosphere of the place, charged with awkward memories and breathed by a hostile populace, was not healthy to Mr. Browne may be readily imagined. But at least the parishioners benefited by his final departure, since the patron brought in a moderate and tolerant conformist who was installed by the 5th of March, 1662-3.

Walker in his *Sufferings of the Clergy* makes no mention of the reinstatement of either Browne, or Barney. His references to

¹³ Although rightly described by Calamy as "Congregational" in his judgement, he is not mentioned in Professor Lyon Turner's particulars of Congregational ministers ejected in 1660 and 1662 (Cong. Hist. Soc. *Transactions* vi. 25). Matthew Bloom and Rowland Hancock are also omitted, though no one reading the ordinances of the Shirecliffe and Attercliffe church (*Hunter* p. 287) can doubt that they were Congregational, despite the P appended to their names in the 1672-3 licence lists.

¹⁴ *Records of the Burgery of Sheffield*, p. 172. This use of the workhouse is explained by the fact that the building being larger than the exigencies of poor relief required, it had become the custom to let off certain of its rooms to private tenants. It will be seen hereafter that Fisher's son, a surgeon, conducted his practice there.

¹⁵ *Hunter's Hallamshire*, p. 270. He was inducted to Crofton 6th November, 1662, *vice* Edward Hill ejected by the Uniformity Act. Dale's *Yorkshire Puritanism*, p. 77.

360 The Origin of Nonconformity in Sheffield

their removal suggest the absence of any effort to obtain accurate information. They are as follow (p. 212) :

“ Barney, Sheffield, V. He was the Assistant Minister here, which I take to be a settled office and equivalent to a Freehold. If not he must be struck out here, and placed in the Appendix among the Curates. Brown, Sheffield. Different I conjecture, from that Sheffield just now mentioned, unless there were two sufferers in it.”

R. E. LEADER.

To be continued.

Congregational Historical Society

Transactions

Vol. VI, No. 6]

[OCTOBER, 1915

Contents

Editorial - - - - -	361
Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty - - -	364
Early Nonconformist Academies - -	377
Bushell of Frodsham - - - Mr. J. C. Whitebrook	379
The Antinomian Controversy - - - Rev. J. Hay Colligan, M.A.	389
The Origin of Nonconformity in Sheffield, II Mr. R. E. Leader	397
Puritanism in Little England beyond Wales Prof. A. J. Grieve, M.A., B.D.	404
Congregationalism in the Fen Country -	415

*May be obtained direct from the Book Saloon, Congregational Union of
England and Wales, Inc., Memorial Hall, London, E.C.*

DATE MICROFILMED

6 Aug 1990

ITEM # 6

PROJECT and
ROLL #G. S.
CALL #XLIB8-1021696483
578

Editorial

OUR Annual Meeting was held at the Congregational Memorial Hall, London, 12th May, 1915. Dr. B. Nightingale presided over a large attendance of members and friends. The secretary reported the arrangements made for the Autumnal Meeting at Bristol before it was known that the gatherings of the Congregational Union would be postponed, and the thanks of the Society were forwarded to Mr. G. H. Wicks of that city for having prepared a paper to be read on the occasion. The preparations for the Historical Exhibition were necessarily postponed owing to the war, but the secretary undertook to report at the next meeting what the prospects were of resuming the work. The treasurer reported a small balance in hand, that satisfactory result being mainly due to a kind grant from the Coward Trust made through the president of the Society, Dr. John Brown, who was happily present at the meeting, and was congratulated on the sixtieth anniversary of his leaving Lancashire College for the Congregational ministry.

Among publications of interest recently issued from the press, there were mentioned the third and completing volume of *Original Records*, by Prof. G. Lyon Turner, the treasurer of the Society; *The Baptists in the N. W. of England*, by the Rev. Dr. Whitley; *Old Dissenting Academies*, by Miss Irene Parker of Cherwell Hall, Oxford; and *Kendal Nonconformity*, by Messrs. Nicholson and Axon. The proposal that the *Transactions* of the Congregational and Baptist Historical Societies should be supplied to the members of both Societies, without any addition to the usual annual subscription, was agreed to. The officers of the Society were re-elected for the ensuing year.

The principal business of the meeting was the reading of the very interesting paper by Prof. A. J. Grieve, D.D., which appears in our present issue, on *Congregationalism in Little England beyond Wales*. The paper was much appreciated and was followed by a general conversation. The Society's thanks were proposed by the Rev. H. Harries, M.A., and seconded by the Rev. J. Alden Davies, and warmly agreed to.

The secretary was requested to express the sympathy of all the

members with Mr. Norman Penney, secretary of the Friends' Historical Society, in his prolonged and serious illness.

* *

In connection with the Autumnal Meeting of the Congregational Union at Leeds, a meeting of our Society will be held in the Salem Institute, on Wednesday, 6th October, at 3 p.m. Papers will be read by the Rev. G. S. Briggs of Mill Hill, (late of Otley,) on *Puritanism in Wharfedale*; and by Prof. G. L. Turner, M.A., on *The Clerical Subsidy of 1661*.

* *

Among recent publications of solid worth is a small volume by the Rev. J. H. Colligan, M.A., on *Nonconformity in the Eighteenth Century*. It presents, in a popular and readable form, a large amount of information about forms of worship, psalmody, phases of belief, controversies, training for the ministry, etc.; and is commendably free from that spirit of partisanship by which popular histories are so frequently disfigured.

* *

We very heartily congratulate the Rev. Dr. Peel on the academical recognition that has been granted to his patient researches into the history of Elizabethan Puritanism. Having been the first B.A. of Leeds to gain a research scholarship, he is now (besides his well won Oxford degree) the first recipient of a diploma of D.Litt. from the same University.

* *

Various causes, some arising out of the war, have delayed the publication of Dr. Peel's Calendar of the Morrice MSS.; but we understand that its appearance will not be deferred much longer. We have been favoured with a sight (in proof) of the Introduction and Contents, and a few specimen pages; and can assure our readers that the editorial work has been done with a thoroughness that leaves nothing to be desired. The documents, 257 in number, are arranged as nearly as possible in chronological order, from 1547 to 1590; and are treated in much the same manner as the calendars in the Public Record Office. That is, for documents which are already in print, there is merely a brief description and indication where they may be found; others of relatively small importance are in like manner concisely described; while those of greater importance are either given in full or accurately quoted. Wherever the originals have been identified their present location is notified. The introduction contains curious information as to the way the MSS. have been used, or misused, by writers of repute; and, to judge by the extracts given,

the value of *one* such writer, at least, as a historian must in future be considerably discounted. Certain it is that the forthcoming Calendar will henceforth be indispensable to all serious students of Puritan history.

* * *

We understand that there is some hope of a reprint of the invaluable collection of Puritan tracts, published in 1593, under the title : *Part of a Register*, to which the Morrice Collection may be regarded as a sequel. This would be a great boon to students, for the original is so rare as to be practically inaccessible, except in London or Oxford.

Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty

IT is well known that the last attempt to restrict the liberty of religious worship in England by direct legislation was made in May, 1811; when Lord Sidmouth introduced a bill in the House of Lords to "explain and amend" the Toleration Act of 1689. The object was as far as possible to obstruct Itinerant and Lay Preachers; and the scheme, if it had taken effect, would have been a potent engine for the stamping out of rural Nonconformity. A vigorous opposition was therefore set on foot by the Dissenting Deputies, in co-operation with a General Committee of the Wesleyan Societies. On 21st May no less than 600 petitions were presented against the bill, these bore the signatures of above 100,000 *men*, and were all signed in the space of 48 hours. (See *Evangelical Magazine* 1811, pp. 237-48, 276-80.) The result was the rejection of the bill without a division.

Three days later a meeting of "Protestant Dissenters and other Friends to Religious Liberty" was held at the *London Tavern*; when a Committee was directed to prepare a Plan of a "Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty," and to invite the concurrence of all Dissenting and Methodist congregations. Such a society was thereupon organised, with Messrs. T. Pellatt and J. Wilks as secretaries; and before the end of July personal subscriptions amounting to £251 5s. had been received from 25 individuals, and a further sum of £2,301 11s. from 215 congregations (*Evang. Mag.* 1811, pp. 280-85).

The first anniversary was held on 16th May, 1812, S. Mills, Esq., in the chair. Reports were presented of interviews with Mr. Percival, one only two hours before his assassination. Magistrates having refused to administer the oath required by the Toleration Act, the King's Bench had granted a *Mandamus*; but suggested that the magistrates might appeal. Mr. Percival had recognized the necessity of some amendment in the law, and promised to bring in a bill for that purpose. Nearly £800 had been spent in successfully prosecuting rioters who had violently assaulted a minister at Wickham Market (*Evang. Mag.* 1811, pp. 118, 370). Soldiers had been punished for attending a prayer meeting at Fareham; Mr. Percival had promised that the like should not.

occur again. Clergymen who had refused to bury dissenters had been threatened with prosecution, and had promised not to offend in future. Steps had been taken towards relieving missionaries from persecution by the East India Company. Further attempts had been made to evade the obligation of magistrates to administer oaths under the Toleration Act; to meet such cases, and to obtain exemption of places of worship from local rates, legislation was necessary, but the prospect appeared hopeful. Successful efforts had been made to prevent the Militia and Registration Acts from containing provisions injurious to Protestant Dissenters. Nearly 600 congregations were reported as associated with the Society. (*Evan. Mag.* 1812, pp. 241-48.)

On 29th July, 1812, an Act was passed amending the Toleration Act, formally repealing the Conventicle and Five Mile Acts, and obliging all magistrates to administer the above-mentioned oaths if demanded. The "Protestant Society" (this short name was adopted for convenience) immediately passed a resolution of thanks to the Government; and issued a circular thankfully accepting the relief afforded by the later Act, but insisting that the Corporation and Test Acts ought also to be repealed. (*Evan. Mag.* 1812, pp. 356-62.)

On 2nd March, 1813, a special meeting was held to demand freedom for missionaries in the territories of the East India Company; a petition to Parliament was agreed on. Similar petitions were about the same time presented by the Dissenting Deputies, and by "Inhabitants of London and the vicinity." (*Evan. Mag.* 1813, pp. 156-7, 183-4; cf. also 281-4.)

At the Annual Meeting in May, 1814, it was reported that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Vansittart, had promised to exempt chapels from local rates. Refusals to bury were reported, chiefly from Wales. Congregations had been molested at Walham Green, Yaxley, and Aldingbourne; in the latter case by an organized mob led by two magistrates and the churchwardens. Proceedings in the King's Bench had been commenced against these for conspiracy. Bullets had also been shot into the meeting-house at Kilsby. Resolutions were passed rejoicing in the repeal of laws against Unitarians. (*Evan. Mag.* 1814, pp. 242-4.)

In reporting the fourth Annual Meeting (13 May, 1815), the *Evangelical Magazine* asserts that the Society had in that short time obtained greater benefits for the friends of religion than they had been able to procure by all their successive and united exertions since the Revolution. Refusals to bury persons baptized by dissenters had been declared and acknowledged to be illegal. Relief had been secured from tolls from persons going to worship outside their own parishes; Rev. B. Hobson of Welford had successfully invoked the aid of the Society in this matter. Congregations had been disturbed at Mortlake, Woodford, Windsor,

Braintree, Canewdon, Abbott's Ann, and Prince's Risborough; in most of these cases the offenders had been prosecuted. In several places, notably at Alveston in Derbyshire, misappropriation of trust property had been prevented. (*Evan. Mag.* 1815, pp. 265, &c.) Legal proceedings in some of these (and other) cases appear to have been somewhat protracted. It was not till 12th Jany., 1816, that the leader of the riot near Prince's Risborough was fined £40. In the same month six persons were sent to prison for three months for assembling with about 100 others and riotously disturbing a Methodist congregation at Newnham, Glos. On 17th July of that year Robert Newstead, a Methodist preacher, appealed at Wisbech quarter sessions against two magistrates—one of them a clergyman—on whose prosecution he had been fined for preaching in a field. The conviction was confirmed, but on a case being demanded for the King's Bench the prosecution was abandoned. (*Evan. Mag.* 1816, pp. 28, 67, III, 399.)

At the Annual Meeting on 17th May, 1817, it was reported that the leaders of the riot at Abbott's Ann had publicly apologized, paid £100 towards the cost of the prosecution, and been bound over to keep the peace. Three cases of refusing burial were reported; in one of them the parson had *afterwards* read the ritual over the grave! An attempt had been made to levy rates on Surrey Chapel, which was resisted. Prosecutions had followed on riots at Anstey and Tisbury (Wilts); but at Mendlesham (Suff.) magistrates had refused to hear a complaint against a mob of 50 persons for rabbling a Baptist minister. Similar disturbances had taken place at Bracknell (Berks), Moorchelsea¹ (Kent), and at a village near Tewkesbury. Several attempts had been made to frighten rural Nonconformists. At a village in Wales the parish priest had threatened to extort a fine from any minister who should dispense the Lord's Supper! At Tetbury a placard, signed by a local attorney, threatened all who did not attend the parish church. At Portsmouth, handbills were issued accusing dissenters of designing insurrection and rebellion. Cases were reported in which magistrates still refused to license meeting-places; some in Lancashire agreed to refuse all applications except such as were made through counsel: that the fees might act as a deterrent. The Society had withdrawn from disputing the conviction of a Unitarian minister in Liverpool, because it was shewn that the preaching-place was not registered. (*Evan. Mag.* 1817, p. 317.)

At the Annual Meeting on 16th May, 1818, the Duke of Sussex presided. Cases of refusal to bury were still reported. The rector of Birmingham had demanded fees for the burial of Rev. Jehoiada Brewer in the ground attached to his own chapel! Several cases relating to tolls were still pending. Complete

¹ Not identified.

exemption of chapels from rates had not yet been gained ; but in several cases assessment had been successfully resisted. Riots had occurred at Ealing, Isleworth, and Haslington. The Anstey case had at length been disposed of ; the rioters, including a clergyman, had been convicted at the assizes, and bound over for three years. Several attempts had been made to oppress paupers who were Nonconformists : at Woodbridge a Methodist pauper was forbidden to attend the place of worship which he preferred ; and at Stalbridge the parish officers would relieve the poor only on Sundays. Attempts at oppression by clauses in a new poor-law bill had been frustrated. (*Evan. Mag.* 1818, pp. 305-9.)

Sir James Mackintosh presided at the Annual Meeting on 15th May, 1819. Continuance of the usual annoyances was reported ; such as claiming illegal tolls, taxing chapels, refusing burial and sometimes marriage, and penalizing paupers for attending Nonconformist worship. Attempts had been made to assess the students' rooms in certain academies ; but these had been successfully resisted. Resistance to the assessment of chapels at York and Chatham, however, had not been successful. It was held that tolls were levied by virtue of divers local acts ; the Society therefore demanded general and permanent exemption of persons going to or from their usual places of worship. The complete rescission of the Test and Corporation Acts was also demanded. (*Evan. Mag.*, 1819, pp. 248-9.)

At the Annual Meeting on 13th May, 1820, Lord Holland occupied the chair. It had been decided that an attempt at distraint for taxes on students' apartments at Idel was illegal ; whereupon similar claims at Blackburn and Newport Pagnell had been relinquished. It had further been decided that chapel trustees were liable to assessment on the *net* proceeds of pew rents, less necessary expenses, such necessary expenses including the minister's salary. But at some sessions clerical magistrates had asserted that £50, £40, or £30 "was quite enough for a dissenting minister." Methods for resisting such assessments were recommended. Certain clergy had demanded mortuary and surplice fees when bodies had been buried in dissenters' grounds ; it was pointed out that the latter charge was clearly illegal ; the former only legal if supported by a local Act, or by 200 years' usage. Several cases of local persecution were reported. Parish aid had been refused to dissenters in Suffolk, Hampshire, Devon, and Staffordshire. Near Ipswich a pauper had been forbidden to attend the congregation of which he had been a member for 22 years. At Sheringham,² Dorset, a tenant had been threatened with eviction for turning a barn into a preaching-place ; and a cottager at Ewelme for allowing the cottage to be occupied by a village preacher. An

² Not identified ; Q. if error for Sherington, Wilts.

attempt to legalize persecution by a revised poor-law had been frustrated. Warning was given of persecution designed by means of a projected Education Act; the Archbishop of Canterbury having lately said: "The education of the poor must be confided to the direction of the parish priests, or there will be hazard to the Church and State." (*Evan. Mag.*, 1820, pp. 299-300.)

At the Annual Meeting on 12th May, 1821, S. Whitbread, M.P., presided. Information and advice had been given in many cases of claim for taxes, rates, tolls, and fees. Riots had occurred in Edgware Road, and at Swanton (Norf.), Worksop (Notts.), and Totton, Southwick, and Botley (Hants.) Hampshire magistrates had refused to enforce penalties imposed by the Toleration Act and adjudged by themselves. Several cases of persecution of paupers were reported. At Hartland (Devon) and Bishopton (Wilts.) clergy had refused to bury persons baptized by Nonconformists; and at Kimbolton the vicar had refused to marry the son of a Baptist. In all these cases apologies had been obtained. At Ewelme a cottage had been bought, where Amos Norroway might receive a minister and his neighbours for worship without disturbance. Apprehensions of persecution by the sectarian working of Mr. Brougham's projected Education Act led to expression of belief that such an Act was unnecessary, and that all needs could be met by voluntary effort. It was stated that a sermon on schism, by one Cassan of Frome, in which he declared that dissenters were not Christians, had been approved by five bishops! (*Evan. Mag.*, 1821, pp. 297-8.)

Lord John Russell presided at the Annual Meeting on 11th May, 1822. It was reported that the Court of King's Bench had enforced the sentence of imprisonment passed upon a rioter in Hampshire. It was hoped that Mr. Brougham's Education Bill had disappeared. Rating of chapels had been successfully resisted at Bath, Chatham, and Paddington. Attempts had been made, notably at York, to obtrude on dissenters expensive parochial and corporation offices; these had been silenced by the King's Bench. Certain clerical magistrates had refused charitable assistance to persons attending Nonconformist worship, or sending their children to Nonconformist Sunday schools. Some cases had occurred of refusing to bury or to marry Baptists: amendment of the law was declared necessary. A Mr. Waller had been sent to prison for three months for preaching in the highway; while on the same day a woman was sent for one month for selling obscene publications. (*Evan. Mag.*, 1822, p. 243.)

At the Annual Meeting on 17th May, 1823, Lord Dacre occupied the chair. It was reported that an Act had been passed exempting from tolls all persons going to or from their usual places of worship. Further attempts had been made to assess chapels and schoolrooms; there had been refusals to bury, and to marry a

Baptist; some rioters had been convicted, while in other cases magistrates had taken part with the rioters. One P. Watson of Newcastle had been imprisoned by an Ecclesiastical Court for withholding "Easter offerings." It had been held doubtful whether preaching in a field was legal, even if the field was certified! An innkeeper had been threatened with the loss of his licence because he had entertained an itinerant preacher. Parochial relief had been withdrawn from Nonconformist paupers; and the Court of Chancery had ruled that a Nonconformist registry of baptisms was "not a legal record." (*Evan. Mag.*, 1823, p. 252.)

Lord Holland presided again at the meeting on 18th May, 1824. The state of the then existing law was explained as follows: Chapels were rateable if producing a beneficiary income, not otherwise; unbaptized persons, whether children or adults, had not rights of burial; Dissenters' records of Baptism were mere memoranda, and should therefore be "registered at the office of the Clerk of the Peace as security." It was reported that legal redress had been obtained in several cases of disturbance of worship; and a grand jury had ignored the bill against a person for preaching in the street at Colchester. In Wales, a vicar had appointed a time for burial and received fees, but kept the mourners waiting for an hour, and prosecuted a minister for praying by the grave-side: "Proceedings stayed." A curate had taken proceedings in the bishop's court against six women for complaining of his refusal to admit the body of a child into the church: he was cast in costs. It was recommended that at the coming elections dissenters should support no candidate who did not promise to vote for repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. (*Evan. Mag.*, 1824, pp. 268-70.)

At the Annual Meeting on 14th May, 1825, various disturbances and outrages were still complained of. An attempt had been made to assess Thomas Wilson as the beneficial holder of Craven Chapel, on which he had spent £11,000 without interest for his money. In many cases clergy had refused to bury children of Nonconformists; and in Wales the marriage of a young woman had been delayed for a month, because, being a Baptist, she refused to submit to the Anglican rite. At Newport Pagnell two Baptist preachers had been sent to the treadmill for soliciting donations towards building a chapel; the priest, one Marshall, however had to apologize in the public papers, and pay the men £50 to escape a public trial. The rector of Kimmeridge (Dorset) had sent to Wareham gaol a Wesleyan preacher for preaching on the village green; but did not venture to appear against him at the sessions. The meeting demanded, *inter alia*, facilities for Nonconformist marriages, and the establishment of a Public Registry of Births or Baptisms. (*Evan. Mag.*, 1825, pp. 295-6.)

In 1826 the same kind of annoyances were still continued, the

clergy being the chief offenders. No details are given, except that most of those maltreated were Baptists. (*Evan. Mag.*, 1826, pp. 255-6.)

At the Annual Meeting in May, 1827, Viscount Milton, M.P., occupied the chair. It was reported that assistance had been sought by members of every denomination of Protestant Dissenters except the Friends. One William O'Bryan, a Methodist, had been committed to prison for preaching on a plot of vacant ground at Winchester. The Society, proceeding by *Habeas Corpus*, had obtained his release; and had taken action against the alderman who had committed him. The result was an apology, payment of £50 costs, and of £10 to Mr. O'Bryan; who presented part of it to the Society, and the remainder towards the building of a meeting-house near his home.

Action had been taken in cases at Arretton Down, I.W., and Stoneleigh, Warwickshire, where preachers in the open air had been violently interrupted by a clergyman, a magistrate, and others. Some illegal charges had been enforced, because of delay in giving notice of appeal. At Alresford (Hants.) candlesticks and other goods to the value of over £10 had been taken from a chapel for an illegal charge of 8s. 6d., the seizure being made in such a way as amounted to a public demonstration; the Society was about to institute proceedings for trespass. At Buckfastleigh (Devon), Staplehurst (Kent), and Mersea (Essex), relief had been withholden from poor persons because they attended dissenting worship. In these cases the interposition of the Society had produced satisfactory results. (*Cong. Mag.*, 1827, pp. 333 flg.)

On 9th May, 1828, the royal assent was given to an Act for the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts; and the Annual Meeting of the Protestant Society was largely a demonstration of gratitude for this measure of justice. The meeting, on 17th May, was presided over by Lord Holland. About forty cases were reported in which religious liberties had been infringed, in many of which the Society had obtained redress. A second attempt had been made to extort an illegal rate for the chapel at Alresford, the minister's saddle and bridle being seized. Legal proceedings had been taken by the Society, and complete success had been achieved. Attention had been given to the excessive rating of Hoxton and Highbury colleges, which had been reduced from £120 and £240 to £20 and £40 respectively. Riotous interruptions of worship had taken place in Wesleyan chapels at Hull, Lavington (Wilts.), and Wantage (Berks); and the offenders had been acquitted at the sessions on the pretext that, although the chapels had been registered in the bishop's and archdeacon's courts, they had not also been recorded with the Clerk of the Peace. The Society had taken measures to make widely known the illegality of these decisions; with the result that in other cases

the same plea had been overruled. Two clergymen of the Evangelical school in Surrey had refused to bury children baptized by dissenting ministers. Both had been convinced of the illegality of their proceedings; one of them had apologized to the parents; the other, the Rev. Hugh McNeile of Albury, had also apologized to the minister, and made a public acknowledgement that he had acted in error. In South Wales a clergyman had refused to marry the daughter of a Baptist unless she would submit to be baptized then and there. Proceedings being anticipated, the churchwardens commenced a suit in an Ecclesiastical court against the lady's father for remonstrating—or as they called it brawling—in the church. The Society took suitable action, and the churchwardens were cast in costs to the amount of £30. Several other cases of petty persecution were dealt with; and a flagrant attempt to exclude dissenters, by a private act of Parliament, from any share in the management of parochial affairs at Ramsgate had been effectually frustrated. (*Cong. Mag.*, 1828, pp. 331 flg.)

At the Annual Meeting on 10th May, 1829, Lord Ebrington presided. The report embodied the usual catalogue of petty persecutions and annoyances, legal and illegal. There had been five cases of illegal attempts to levy poor rates on chapels, and three demands for paving and lighting rates; the Society had recommended the payment of the latter, as they were on account of public convenience. Mention was made of several cases in which assessed taxes on horses had been claimed from dissenting ministers, from which episcopal clergymen were exempt; from this grievance the law provided no relief. At Little Leigh, in Essex, small tithes had been claimed from two dissenting cottagers, and from no other persons in the parish. At Carlton, Bedfordshire, a new rector had forbidden the tolling of a bell at the funeral of a Baptist, contrary to the practice of his predecessor for more than fifty years. Punishment had been inflicted in several cases of riots and assaults; though in one case a clerical magistrate had done his utmost to shield the offenders. Half a dozen cases of demanding illegal tolls were reported; also cases of refusing to marry or to bury, and charging double fees for burial of dissenters' children. One clergyman, Evan Davies, of Llanrwst, had obtained fees for rebaptizing children and others, alleging that their baptism by dissenting ministers "was quite invalid, and would neither avail in earth or heaven." There had also been refusals to administer oaths required by law, and an attempt to hold students at Cheshunt College liable to ballot for service in the militia.

The eminent Irish patriot, Daniel O'Connell, a devout Roman Catholic, was present at the meeting. He concluded an eloquent speech with these words: "Intolerance belongs not to Christianity: tyranny begot it, bigotry fostered it, and fraudulent divines clothed it in the stolen garments of religion." Resolutions were passed

instructing the committee to take decisive measures to obtain (1) Relief in the matter of Burial—omitting parts of the service, and refusing to bury children of Baptist parents; (2) More effective punishment for disturbers of public worship; (3) Complete exemption of places of worship from poor rates: (4) Equal validity of Nonconformist with Anglican Registers of Baptisms; or, preferably, a General Registry of Births; (5) Perfect civil equality between all religious sects, but “without interfering with the establishment or revenues of the Church.” (*Cong. Mag.*, 1829, pp. 331-9.)

The Annual Meeting on 15th May, 1830, was presided over by Lord Nugent. About 70 cases had claimed attention during the year, nine or ten of which, however, were outside the purview of the Society. In 11 cases demands for poor rates and similar parochial charges on places of worship had been successfully resisted. In one of these the Communion plate had been seized, but restored. There had been illegal demands for tolls, burial fees, etc., and church rates of questionable legality; also misappropriation of charities; and an attempt to exclude the child of a Methodist from a public grammar school. Six refusals to bury were reported. One clergyman, at Southill, Beds., had refused to read the service over a deceased Baptist, but met the mourners at the graveside, and lectured them on the evils of Nonconformity! Even a worse exhibition of intolerance had occurred at Cambridge. Two young men from Linton in that county were under sentence of death for arson; the minister of the chapel which they had occasionally attended obtained from a magistrate an order for admission to the gaol, but was nevertheless prevented from holding any conversation with the prisoners after sentence. At Rayleigh and Mount-Nessing, in Essex, Nonconformist worship had been repeatedly obstructed by rioters, and as to the former place the magistrates had refused redress. Similar outrages had occurred at Haversham, Bucks.; the parish clergyman had protected the rioters, and a deformed girl had been deprived of a parish allowance of sixpence a week for the crime of occasionally attending Nonconformist worship! At a village in Cambridgeshire where a dissenting congregation had existed for 140 years, the lease of the meeting-house had expired. The congregation negotiated for a plot of freehold land on which to build; the parish clergyman endeavoured to out-bid them, and failing that set up a rival claimant to the estate. He was reported to have said; “The dissenters have been here since the days of Cromwell; they shall be here no longer; we will have no dissenters here, I will drive them from the parish.” The resolutions of last year were confirmed, and another added in favour of treating marriage entirely as a civil contract. (*Cong. Mag.*, 1830, pp. 437-44; *Evan. Mag.*, 216-17.)

No general meeting of the Society was held in 1831, nor, so far as we can discern, in 1832 or-33. All public attention was concentrated on Parliamentary Reform; and a notion seems to have prevailed that if once "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill" were inscribed on the statute book, all grievances would be immediately redressed. Such, at least, is the impression produced by the report of a meeting held on 17th May, 1834, the Earl of Durham in the chair. An Act had been passed exempting all places of worship from poor rates; and a Committee of the House of Commons had recommended a system of Civil Registration; but a bill (which had been introduced) for the Commutation of Church-Rates, and another respecting marriages of dissenters, were of such a nature as to be totally unacceptable. The meeting passed strongly worded resolutions expressing "bitter disappointment and regret that adequate relief had not been supplied or attempted" by the administration; and proclaiming "their conviction that religion will most beneficially flourish where it receives only voluntary support."

During the interval since the last meeting above 150 cases had demanded attention. At Baldock, Chesham, and Newcastle Emlyn clergymen had illegally demanded burial fees for dissenters interred in burial grounds belonging to their own chapels. In a Dorset village a pluralist vicar, newly come to the parish, had virtually suppressed a Sunday school conducted by a dissenter; and when the Home Missionary Society appointed an agent to evangelize the much neglected neighbourhood, intimidated the villager who had engaged by written agreement to provide the agent with lodging and stabling. Exposure, however, had brought the priest to reason. (*Patriot*, 21st May, 1834.)

The Annual Meeting on 16th May, 1835, was remarkable for the presidential address of Lord Brougham; and for the unusual interest excited by the recent imprisonment of Mr. Childs of Bungay, by order of an Ecclesiastical Court, for non-payment of a Church rate, which might have been easily enforced by distraint. The resolutions demanded the abolition of compulsory Church rates; the amendment of the marriage laws; a national Civil Registration of births, marriages, and deaths; the abolition of Ecclesiastical Tests in the national Universities; less costly methods of perpetuating Chapel Trusts; and the redress of several minor grievances connected with burials, parochial offices, etc.

On 14th May, 1836, the meeting was presided over by Lord Ebrington. About 70 cases had arisen affecting religious freedom and rights of conscience. The most scandalous was that of six men who, in default of paying fines, had been committed to hard labour in the gaol at Devizes for "trespass," consisting of attending the preaching of the Gospel on a piece of waste land belonging to the Marquess of Ailesbury. After they were released they were

forbidden by the marquess's steward to hold meetings for worship in their cottages! In the neighbourhood of Coventry a clergyman had evicted the holders of several small allotments for the crime of attending a Home Mission chapel. Other instances of petty persecution were narrated. Resolutions expressed gratitude for the Municipal Reform Act; satisfaction with bills then before Parliament relating to marriage and registration; and "the firm conviction that nothing short of an entire exemption of all sects dissenting from the Established Church from the compulsory payment" of Church rates could be acceptable to English Protestant Dissenters.

At the meeting on 13th May, 1837, in which Lord Nugent occupied the chair, reports were received of violent assaults on open air preachers, for which only trivial penalties had been imposed; of the one bell of a meeting-house being objected to as a nuisance, where a chapel of ease with three bells was about to be erected; and of an attempt to appoint the police office as the place where marriages might be performed under the new Marriage Act! Resolutions were passed expressing satisfaction and gratitude for the Registration and Marriage Acts; welcoming the co-operation of the Dissenting deputies, and of a lately formed Church Rate Abolition Society; declaring confidence in the present administration; and enumerating various grievances which remained to be redressed.

The elections necessitated by the demise of the Crown having given a considerable accession of strength to the Conservative party, the hopes which had been cherished of a speedy removal of these grievances were evidently doomed to disappointment. An advertisement in the *Patriot* of 9th May, 1838, referred to "the past year, replete with intolerant and cruel persecution"; to "abuses of the new poor law system, prejudicial to religious liberty"; to a "contemplated establishment of National Education under the control of the State"; and to a recrudescence of "High Church and interested feeling, combined and operating . . . against the principle that perfect civil equality should be enjoyed by all religious denominations." It was thought that effort should be concentrated on an endeavour to abolish compulsory Church rates; and the committee of the "Protestant Society" were of opinion that the annual meeting already announced "would not be advantageously held." It was therefore postponed; and the following week the Committee offered two prizes of 100 guineas and 25 guineas respectively for Essays on the evils of National Religious Establishments. Several such essays were sent in, and were to be adjudicated by Dr. J. Pye Smith, Dr. T. Raffles, and Mr. W. Tooke; but whether the prizes were awarded or any of the essays published we have not been able to ascertain.

At the General Meeting held 11th May, 1839, under the presidency

of the Duke of Sussex, it was reported that no less than 71 applications for advice or assistance had been received, from 19 counties in England and 6 in Wales. These related to Church rates, illegal tolls and assessments, refusals to marry and to bury, inscriptions on tombstones, malicious prosecutions, riots instigated by clergymen and magistrates, encroachments on Trust Property, exclusion of dissenting ministers from workhouses, abuses under the recent Registration and Marriage Acts, and oppressive proceedings in Ecclesiastical Courts.³ Resolutions were passed expressing pleasure at the progress that had been made toward religious freedom; testifying esteem and confidence towards Lord Lansdowne, Lord Holland, Lord John Russell, and other consistent friends of Reform; and summarizing other points toward the attainment of which "unabated and even augmented endeavours should be made."

During this year a "Religious Freedom Society" was constituted, composed of "Local Associations in various parts of the United Kingdom, for Promoting the Civil Equality of all Religious Denominations." The constitution of this new Society was different from, and its basis broader than, that of the Protestant Society, but its objects and methods were practically identical. For several succeeding years this new Society held annual meetings; directing its efforts chiefly against compulsory Church rates and administrative abuses actuated by sectarian bias, but also against efforts which were made to establish elementary schools at the public cost but under State Church control. Ere long it was definitely committed to the principle of Disestablishment; and stimulated, if it did not actually originate, the conference which in 1844 gave birth to the "Anti-State Church Association," now known as the "Liberation Society." This development was not pleasing to all the friends of religious equality, as they disliked the idea of a society having religious aims, yet admitting into its fellowship men, not merely of any religion, but of no religion. In this dispute, however, the "Protestant Society" took no part.

After 1839 we do not find any record of annual or public meetings of the Protestant Society. It continued to exist, nevertheless, for several years, and its committee met from time to time and passed resolutions which were advertised in the public papers. Thus on 30th April, 1841, they expressed disappointment that no relief had been granted in the matter of Church rates, and indignation at the imprisonment, by an Ecclesiastical Court, of Messrs. Baines and Thorogood for resisting these impositions. They protested against the appointment in workhouses of rate paid

³ The worst cases were in Wales, at Llanelly and Llanon, where dissenters had been elected churchwardens, and then proceeded against in an ecclesiastical court, one for non-attendance at church, and the other for not providing material and vessels for the sacrament there. Both were imprisoned in default of payment of enormous bills of costs.

chaplains and schoolmasters, exclusively connected with the Established Church; and added that they "became additionally convinced that the union of that Church with the State will ere long become an evil too obnoxious to be endured."

A meeting of the committee on 3rd May, 1843, passed a resolution on the recent death of the Duke of Sussex; whose "favour, counsel, and support" the Society had enjoyed from its commencement; and whose "benevolent patronage of useful charities, his encouragement of science and the arts, his efforts for education on liberal principles, his devotion to civil liberty and parliamentary reform" had won for him "an affection and respect which no flatteries could win, no splendour attract, nor any mere royalty of rank obtain." The committee also passed resolutions denouncing the educational clauses of a Factories Bill introduced by Sir James Graham and then before Parliament; and urging that if those clauses were not withdrawn petitions against the bill should be addressed to both Houses, in supplementation to 12,350 that had already been presented. On 19th June following the committee met once more to express satisfaction at the withdrawal of the clauses, against which petitions had been presented with 2,068,059 signatures; and to thank the Dissenting deputies, the Religious Freedom Society, the editors of numerous papers, and several members of Parliament, for the co-operation which had issued in this happy result.

No records of any later proceedings of the Society have come to our knowledge.

Early Nonconformist Academies

Dudley, Newbury, Sheriff Wales^e (*Supplementary*)

IN *Transactions*, vol. iii., pp. 393-4, mention is made of John Southwell, student under John Woodhouse at Sheriff Hales, schoolmaster at Kidderminster, and minister at Dudley and Newbury. Toulmin is there given as the authority for a tradition, possibly erroneous, that the academy at Sheriff Hales "was carried on for some time" by him in the absence of Woodhouse. And in vol. vi, p. 24, it is said that in 1688 he succeeded Woodbridge as pastor of Newbury, where he instructed eight students who were exhibitioners of the Presbyterian Fund.

The Rev. A. G. Matthews of Tettenhall supplies information which serves to correct the latter statement. He has found, in the minutes of the Presbyterian Fund Board, an entry that on May 11th, 1691, an order was made to pay £6 to Ebenezer Bradshaw, who was studying Hebrew and French with John Southwell at Dudley. It is evident from this that Southwell's removal to Newbury was not earlier than the latter part of 1691.

Amongst the *Baxter MSS.* in Williams's Library (fol. 3) is a letter written by Southwell to Richard Baxter under date June 24th, *jbgi*, which is interpreted 1691. He first refers to one of his students, a Mr. Turton, whom Baxter desires to settle with Southwell's consent as minister at Awburne (Aldbourn), Wilts; and proceeds: "I have sent out some more, as the two Greenwoods, one John Southwell of Leicestershire, and Mr. Willets now Mr. Philip Foley's chaplain, and some few more. I have also one more besides Mr. Turton that is going of[f], and another that will be ready about half a year hence, and four or five more about a year and a half hence. I do not keep many, not above 12 or 15 of all sorts, and find it a great work to take care of them as they ought to be, for I do not love to send any from me before they are considerable schollars. This Mr. Turton is not old Mr. Turton's (y^e minister's) son, and is free from his prejudice and error." The writer concludes by saying that he will call on Baxter for some books which the latter had promised him. If "the two Greenwoods" include Daniel, he must belong to Dudley rather than Sheriff Hales; and the same applies to Willets, unless they were at both places; see *Transactions*, iii, 393-4.

The minutes of the Presbyterian Fund Board record on 14th November, 1692, a "grant to William Harris under John Southwell at Newbury, since June 24th"; on 17th June, 1693, a grant to four students at Newbury; and on 26th June the last grant to Southwell at Newbury.

Mr. Matthews further contributes a list of 27 students at Sheriff Hales, all but three (marked *) being additional to those enumerated in *Transactions*, vol. iii, pp. 392-4.

I. *Students receiving grants from the Presbyterian Fund.*

February 23rd, 1689-90.	Richard Edge.
December 18th, 1690.	John Lewis and Thomas Davis, lately with Mr. Woodhouse, now with James Owen, Oswestry.
July 6th, 1691.	Dr. Barnett's Son: also in 1695.
" "	Richard Peach.
" "	Stubbs: also in 1695 [probably minister at Wolverhampton 1697-1738].
" "	Theodore or Theophilus Westmacote. [One of this surname was minister at Chalford in 1711.]
February 22nd, 1692.	*James Thomson.
March 21th, 1692.	Bennett of Littleover; also John Bennett 1695. [Query whether the same?]
1692.	Stephen Hughes.
May 9th, 1692.	Thos. Cullen; also in 1695.
June 13th, "	Chas. Clemenson.
June 27th, "	Thos. Hill.
September 19th, 1692.	Stephen, son of Mr. Worth of Daintre [? Daventry].
October 10th, "	Mr. Laurence's son [removed to be minister at Wolverhampton on that date; query if son of Edward Laurence, ejected from Baschurch, Salop].
January 2nd, 1692-3	Isaac Owen.
May 8th, 1693.	Abraham Chambers.
June 26th, "	John Hinckley.

II. *Other Students at Sheriff Hales.*

February 20th, 1692.	Samuel Evance.
1695	William Worth 1695 Samuel Clarke.
"	*Jonathan Hand 1696 Nathaniel Taylor.
"	Thos. Boardman 1697 Richard Salt.
"	Job Jones. " *Paul Russell

Bushell of Frodsham

THE bare facts of the history of a family that founded Protestant Missions in the land of the Inquisition, sheltered Cromwell's chaplains in the days of Carolian persecution (with an impunity equal to that with which they maintained relations of friendship with Jesuit priests in the days of Puritan ascendancy), that defied the Bench in the days of Scroggs and Jeffreys and established for ever the freedom of juries to acquit fearlessly, must needs be of interest.

The earliest references available to the family of Bushell, living in Bishopsgate, are those in the will of Thomas Hutchins, a Merchant Taylor of St. Helen's there. Hutchins was, as is recorded in a note made seven years after his death, in the registers of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate: "a Merchant and a very charitable man, and a good benefactor to the poor of this parish."

When he died, in March, 1646-7, he left by his will (49 Fines, P.C.C.) bequests to the poor of his parish quite sufficient to justify the encomiums of the register. Apart also from the legacies given from reasons of family or domestic affection (of which more hereafter) he left bequests to four ministers: "Mr. Peter Sterrey, Mr. Samuel Willes, Mr. Abraham Mocolyne and Mr. Richard Shert."

Both Sterrey and Willes form the subject of accounts in Palmer's edition of *Calamy*, and Sterrey receives notice at length in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Perhaps sufficient weight has not attached to a splendid Christian charity which exhibited itself in Sterrey's writings; in days when the forms of censure were not confined merely to the excited verbiage of theologians. Sterrey rebuked those of his day who insisted that the Pope was Antichrist. If so, he reminded them, many a humble Antichrist, follower of the Christ for whom popes and martyrs had suffered, sat enthroned at the right hand of God in heaven.

Calamy's account of Willes cannot be accurate. The date of the commencement of the Civil War is not consistent with Willes' alleged sojourn, one of some "considerable duration," at Great St. Helen's, and with "nearly twenty years of ministerial labour at Birmingham, prior to being ousted in 1660 or 1661." Palmer was obviously ignorant how long Willes stayed at Great St. Helen's. The will of Thomas Hutchins, which names him as

legatee, would indicate that he had been in the parish, and probably was still there, in 1647. I see no reason to doubt that he was the rector of Great St. Helen's named in Hennessey's *Novum Repertorium*, successor to Thomas Edwards in 1645, and himself succeeded by Arthur Barham in 1647.

Of Mr. Richard Shert, minister, I can find no trace, save in Hutchins' will. He is named there as husband to Katherine, "cousin" to the testator and mother of two daughters.

Mr. Peter Sterrey, who was one of Cromwell's chaplains, appears to have been distantly connected by marriage with Hutchins. His niece, Mary Hutchins, married, as will be seen by Table I, and had issue, among others, Thomas Bushell, in whose will (151 Pembroke, P.C.C.) a second group of Cromwellian ministers is named: "my cozen Mr. Peter Sterry, and Mr. Locquire, another minister." Mr. Richard Beare of Lisbon, whose deeds are hereafter chronicled, receives notice in juxtaposition. One or more of these was probably connected with Thomas Bushell, by reason of his marriage with Ann, daughter of Thomas Smithsby.

The will of Thomas Bushell would indicate that his family was of Cheshire origin. He names cousins, Thomas and Randolph Bushell, both of Fradesham in Cheshire, and a brother-in-law, James Bretergh, who had married his sister Deborah. The Breterghs were of a remarkable Puritan stock. Most seventeenth and eighteenth century memoirs of pious women contain some account of Mrs. Catherinè Bretergh, the wife of Master Breuen of Breuen Stapleford, and of her voluble and protracted demise. This woman, according to the preacher of her funeral sermon, William Leigh of Standish, suffered great injuries from the malicious Papists, "who hated her husband for his religion's sake." They "killed his horses and cattle at divers times in the night." Yet, when she died, even their hardened hearts softened. "She was so blameless in her whole course that the Papists had nothing to say against her."

It is scarcely creditable that Dr. Halley, the learned author of *Lancashire Puritans and Nonconformity*, should have sneered at sufferings so awful and credible, yet his comment is: "If the Papists were so malicious as to kill her husband's horses, it is pleasing to learn they did not calumniate his wife. As far as calumny is concerned, the Papists seem to have been the less blameable of the parties."

At Frodsham a family of Bushell had settled for many generations preceding the seventeenth century. The first recorded marriage is in 1558. From the registers it becomes apparent that Mr. Bushell married Mary Hutchins on October 28th, 1616. He is almost certainly identical with the John Bushell of Mickledale, and John Bushell, schoolmaster, who is mentioned in other entries. It is from this John Bushell that the Bushells whose careers are

Hereafter traced were descended. The registers' records of them have been embodied in a pedigree that must be, of course, to some extent conjectural, simply because the entry of a baptism never supplies the particulars of the future career of its subject which would render identification free from doubt. The pedigree is, nevertheless, I believe, accurate, and the evidence in favour of its conclusions sufficient.

Of the other brothers-in-law of Thomas Bushell not to be found in the Frodsham registers, but named in his will, one was Mr. Justice Blackwell, a Cromwellian judge, the other Captain Blackwell.

For Thomas Bushell himself: On December 5, 1649, a warrant issued from the Admiralty committee, on behalf of Thomas Bushell, merchant of London, providing convoy for his corn ships from Falmouth and Plymouth to the Downs.

Both Thomas and his brother, Edward, were at this time engaged in provisioning the army that operated in Ireland. Between October 10th and Nov. 12th they received £3098 for the supply of corn for this purpose.

In the following year Prince Rupert addressed a declaration to the kingdom of Portugal with respect to the coming of the Commonwealth fleet into the river and port of Lisbon. When Rupert had left the port of Kinsale, with the remnant of the Royalist fleet, he fled to the coasts of Portugal. Blake pursued him, drove him into the Tagus, and followed him into the neutral waters. Rupert urged that the Commonwealth fleet should be regarded as enemies of the State of Portugal. "If it be replied that they have sent an agent (not only to the Spanish King, an enemy of Portugal, but also to the King of Portugal) it may be answered that he was not thought of a few weeks before this fleet put to sea, and he was procured by the merchants of London, as was made known by their petition to the pretended Parliament in that behalf, contrived by two brothers that live here of the name of Bushell [*John and Edward as other documents indicate*] who still have a brother [*John probably*] here, notoriously interested on behalf of the rebels.

"At the first entrance, the lieutenant of the Commonwealth's admiral was sent on shore, and had private meetings and consultations in Bushell's house, and Mr. Taytum and other masters of English ships, entertained in the King of Portugal's service, go to and from the rebels' ships in the night, without leave of the king or ministers."

Three days later than the date of this appeal of Prince Rupert, that is on April 27th, 1650, the Admiralty committee reported that, for the furnishing of the Lisbon fleet with money, £4000, arrangement had been effected with Edward Bushell and George Clarke. All bills of exchange charged upon them by Colonels

Popham and Blake, at ten days' sight, for part of the £4000, were to be accepted and repaid to Bushell and Clarke at the rate of 10s. 11d. per milrea.

On July 11th Mr. Bushell sent to Lisbon a vessel, "smaller than the Trade's Increase, that yet could carry corn."

Meanwhile the King of Portugal, prepossessed in favour of the royal cause (probably by some such feeling as led Edward VII to declare of the Servian assassination that "he could not pardon such an offence against the Trade Union of Kings"), had facilitated the escape of Rupert. Blake seized twenty Portuguese ships of value, and the King of Portugal, although sincerely desirous not to enter into hostilities with England, as the frequent conferences of his ambassador with the Parliament indicate, retaliated by detaining John Bushell and Richard Beare. By September 10th the news had reached London, and Parliament demanded instant reparation. Probably Bushell's life was in little danger. Nearly fifty years afterwards the King of Portugal remained the honoured and trustworthy debtor of the family. But, in England, some apprehension was felt. Parliament proposed to confiscate sufficient of estates of Royalists known to have had dealings with Rupert to reimburse the English prisoners for any loss of goods, and extended the principle of the *lex talionis* in a fashion that supplies incidentally the only instance known to me of the grant of bail in a capital case.

In Newgate was a Catholic priest named George Gage. This George Gage was possibly the same as he who had been the envoy sent by James I to Rome in 1621. Of this George Gage, the half-brother, Francis, was afterwards the president of Douay, and probably the English prisoner was one of that devoted band whose lives were so freely given in effort to convert England again to Roman Catholicism. The evidence for his priesthood there was by strange mischance sufficient and conclusive at the moment that he was released on parole.

Of his own family, Thomas Gage, a Dominican, who had laboured long in South America, had recanted. Men of honour of all religions have done likewise. But Thomas Gage positively exulted in the opportunities afforded to him to bring to a loathsome death those most nearly of his own domestic circle. It was he who supplied the evidence against his half-brother's chaplain, and when Peter Wright and Arthur Bell, Jesuit priests, had suffered at Tyburn in 1651, he abandoned the last vestige of decency, and wrote such a treatise on the glorious "triumph" of his controversy "begun with them at Madrid and Paris and finished at Tyburn," that charity (to be extended even to this despicable wretch) is sore wrought in forbearing comment. He received his reward: a living near Deal.

It was this Thomas Gage who was summoned to the Council

early in 1650, to denounce priests known to him, and it was his half-brother who tenanted a cell in Newgate, awaiting the hook, the pitch pot and the saw of the executioner. All known facts suggest that it was Thomas Gage who hunted his brother to the death. George Gage had had a long run, and, if a strange letter in the Domestic State Papers be read by others as I read it, had made influential friends, or converts. His subsequent life and death, which forbid the suggestion that his action on behalf of the Lisbon prisoners was founded upon any hope to escape his doom, would lead to the supposition that among these friends was either Bushell or Beare.

Gage was required to enter into a recognizance of £20,000 (afterwards extended to £30,000) personally, and with three sureties, to go to Portugal, and within three months to procure the release of Richard Beare and John Bushell, and, failing therein, to surrender, either to the general of the fleet before Lisbon, or else to return to Newgate to endure the sentence of the law. So was George Gage tried beyond human strength. He delayed somewhat on his going, and, even whilst he waited, fifteen Portuguese (I conjecture all of wealth then to be found in London) were incarcerated in the Marshalsea.

Beare and Bushell were set at liberty, but not until Gage, hopeless of success, had returned to Newgate, eleven months later than the expiration of his parole. Already notice had been given to his sureties to produce his person, or in default to suffer the bail to be estreated. Probably Gage wavered between human fear and the reluctance to see his friends wholly ruined, or else prepared himself very carefully, in some foreign seminary, for death. But he did return.

Beare followed in hot haste to stay his fate, and bargained so successfully that Gage was released awhile on security, a hostage for John Bushell, still detained in Portugal.

The matter was settled in a fashion highly advantageous to Protestant interests. In Lisbon, where the Holy Inquisition maintained, it may be said without exaggeration, an unfriendly attitude towards Protestant missions, a preacher was permitted for the merchants.

In October, 1656, Dr. Ralph Cudworth wrote to Thurloe that he understood from Edward Bushell, his brother-in-law, that a preacher was needed at Lisbon, and, he said, he could not be so far wanting as not to certify that none fitter was than one "of great worth, both for piety and learning, Mr. Zachary Cradoch," who chanced to be what he did not mention, but what Thurloe might have guessed, a relative : his wife's cousin. The anxiety of Ralph on behalf "of godliness and ability" was duly rewarded. Zachary went far, first to Lisbon, and afterwards, in 1681, to Eton as provost. He died in 1695, leaving in his will mention neither

of Cudworths nor of Bushells, which seems to indicate that the Mammon of Unrighteousness is not the surest investment for repayment in this deceitful and ungrateful world.

So, on the basis of Gage's negotiations, the Protestant mission to Lisbon was founded : but he had died meanwhile, in prison, in or about 1651, a happier fate than had he lived to stand his long-awaited trial.

When Rupert had fled from the coast of Spain, he betook himself to the West Indies. His brother, Prince Maurice, was shipwrecked in a storm, and, despite the acknowledgement of the royal authority by the islands, Rupert, destitute of provision, found himself confronted with the necessity of living by the sea. Spanish and English vessels alike were his victims.

Among the other privateers that put out to deal with the royal pirates (gentlemanly and considerate pirates who carried pirate chaplains on board, fitted to deal with the cases of conscience that might arise) were some whose letters of marque were held by John and Edward Bushell.

Rupert, in a mercantile and shop-keeping spirit that scarcely befitted a pirate, returned to France, sold his ships and prizes, and thereafter commenced a course of life that gave to science and respectability what had seemed destined to wildest adventure and the gallows.

In the years that follow the Restoration the career of the Bushells becomes more difficult to trace. William had died in 1648. John died somewhere or somehow that the wills of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury do not record. Oh, all the suffering and loss, agony of poor human souls from Celibes to Seipsan those Wills in Partibus contain !

Prior to his death, wherever that happened, John Bushell lived some time in the Barbadoes, conjoined there in closest mercantile relation with Mr. Francis Bond. It was in their house that the fire that destroyed eight hundred houses at Bridgetown broke out upon April 18th, 1668.

An account of this fire is contained in two letters from the merchants, dated respectively April 20th and April 27th, 1668, and reprinted in pamphlet form (*B. Mus. Cat.* 8715 a 35). These rare pamphlets have been re-edited with explanatory preface by my wife, Margaret Whitebrook, and, from correspondence that ensued upon their publication, it becomes apparent that a family of Bushell, white settlers, still persists in the island, and that Francis Bond became a member of Council, and administered the Government in 1696 between the periods of Francis Russell (1694) and Ralph Grey (1698). For these particulars I am indebted to the present Acting Colonial Secretary, Mr. W. N. C. Phillips.

To return to Bushell of London : In late October and early November of 1670, William Penn was charged with street-

Alice
married
...Chest

Elizabeth Sarratt
at Frodsham,
June, 1616

Sons

Elizabeth
bapt. Mar. 17,
1620/21

A= Thomas
bapt. 20 Sept.,
1621, d. 1650
m. Ann, dau. of
Thos. Smithsby

William
d. 1648

Ellen, bapt.
May 25, 1626

Issue pbert
inwale,
rister-at-Law
(b. 1647)

Martha

of Cudworths nor of Bushells, which seems to indicate that the Mammon of Unrighteousness is not the surest investment for repayment in this deceitful and ungrateful world.

So, on the basis of Gage's negotiations, the Protestant mission to Lisbon was founded : but he had died meanwhile, in prison, in or about 1651, a happier fate than had he lived to stand his long-awaited trial.

When Rupert had fled from the coast of Spain, he betook himself to the West Indies. His brother, Prince Maurice, was shipwrecked in a storm, and, despite the acknowledgement of the royal authority by the islands, Rupert, destitute of provision, found himself confronted with the necessity of living by the sea. Spanish and English vessels alike were his victims.

Among the other privateers that put out to deal with the royal pirates (gentlemanly and considerate pirates who carried pirate chaplains on board, fitted to deal with the cases of conscience that might arise) were some whose letters of marque were held by John and Edward Bushell.

Rupert, in a mercantile and shop-keeping spirit that scarcely befitted a pirate, returned to France, sold his ships and prizes, and thereafter commenced a course of life that gave to science and respectability what had seemed destined to wildest adventure and the gallows.

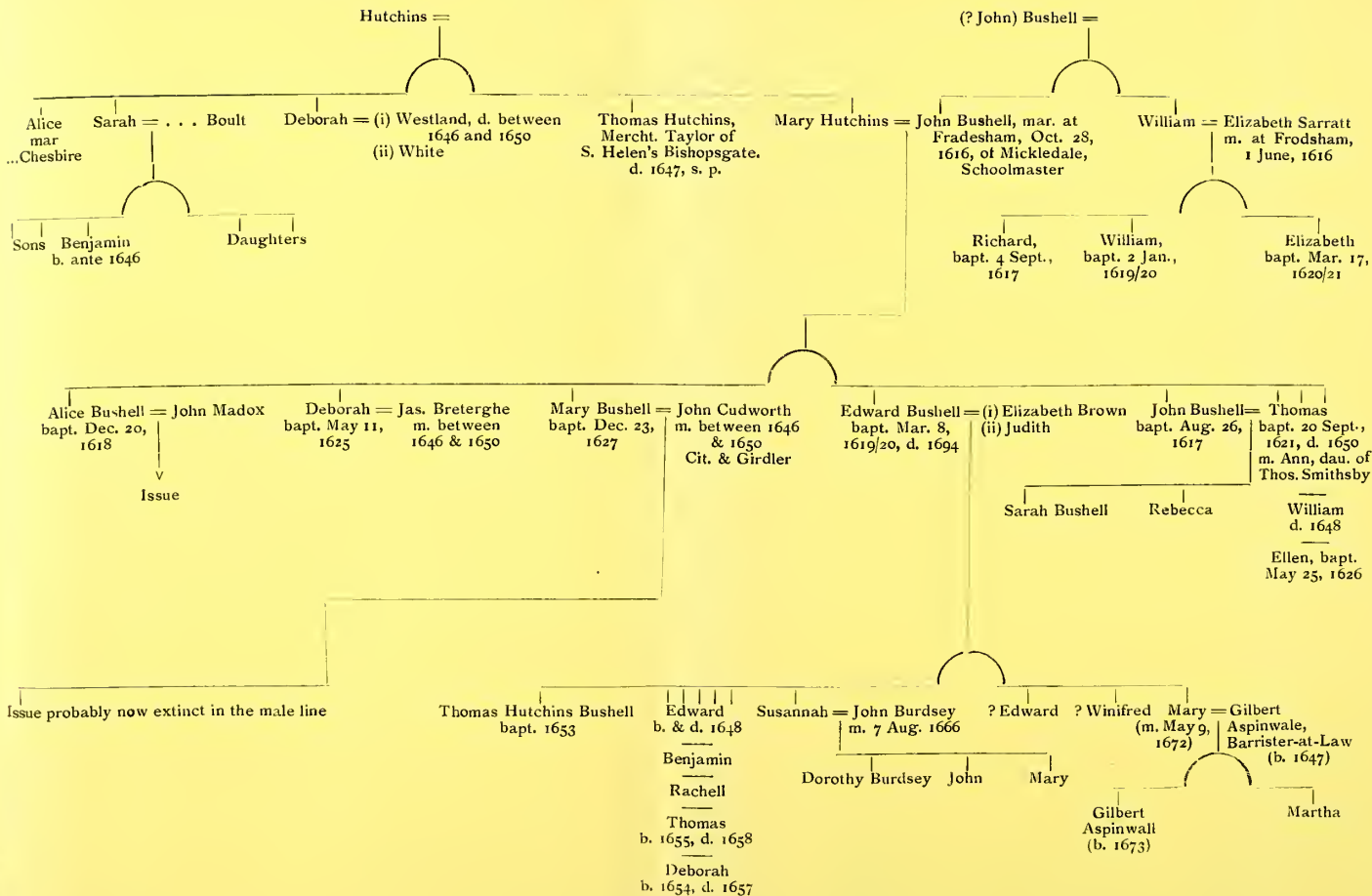
In the years that follow the Restoration the career of the Bushells becomes more difficult to trace. William had died in 1648. John died somewhere or somehow that the wills of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury do not record. Oh, all the suffering and loss, agony of poor human souls from Celibes to Seipsan those Wills in Partibus contain !

Prior to his death, wherever that happened, John Bushell lived some time in the Barbadoes, conjoined there in closest mercantile relation with Mr. Francis Bond. It was in their house that the fire that destroyed eight hundred houses at Bridgetown broke out upon April 18th, 1668.

An account of this fire is contained in two letters from the merchants, dated respectively April 20th and April 27th, 1668, and reprinted in pamphlet form (*B. Mus. Cat.* 8715 a 35). These rare pamphlets have been re-edited with explanatory preface by my wife, Margaret Whitebrook, and, from correspondence that ensued upon their publication, it becomes apparent that a family of Bushell, white settlers, still persists in the island, and that Francis Bond became a member of Council, and administered the Government in 1696 between the periods of Francis Russell (1694) and Ralph Grey (1698). For these particulars I am indebted to the present Acting Colonial Secretary, Mr. W. N. C. Phillips.

To return to Bushell of London : In late October and early November of 1670, William Penn was charged with street-

Bushell of Frodsham, Bishopsgate and Barbadoes





preaching and William Mead with aiding and abetting him. The trial is a famous one, and replete with the most outrageous quips. Had it then been handled by Jeffreys, the Common Serjeant, he would probably have avoided the conflict with the jury that followed. They would have been as powerless in rout before his tongue as the Vicar of Wakefield opposed to a Billingsgate fish-porter.

What actually followed (after mauling and abuse of the prisoners such as could now occur only before they were charged) was this: "The jury were now desired to go upstairs, in order to agree upon a verdict, and the prisoners remained in the bail dock. After an hour and a half's time, eight came down agreed, but four remained above until sent for. The bench used many threats to the four that dissented; and the recorder addressing himself to one of them of the name of Bushell said: 'Sir, you are the cause of this disturbance and manifestly shew yourself an abetter of faction; I shall set a mark on you, Sir.'

Alderman Sir J. Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower. 'Mr. Bushell, I have known you near this fourteen years* ; you have thrust yourself upon this jury.'

Alderman Bludworth. 'Mr. Bushel, we know what you are.'

Lord Mayor. 'Sirrah, you are an impudent fellow, I will put a mark upon you.'

'The jury being then sent back to consider their verdict remained for some time, and found Mead not guilty, but William Penn guilty of speaking to an assembly in Gracious St.

Recorder. 'Gentlemen you shall not be dismissed till we have a verdict that the court will accept, and you shall be locked up without meat, drink, fire, OR TOBACCO † ; you shall not think thus to abuse the court; we will have a verdict, by the help of God, or you shall starve for it.'" All night they were so kept.

On the Sunday morning ‡ they were again brought up, irate and persevering. When "much abuse was heaped on 'that factious fellow, Bushel' he observed that he had acted 'conscientiously,' which expression called forth some very pleasant jeers from the court; and the jury, sent back a third time, again returned the same verdict.

"The recorder at this greatly incensed and perplexed threatened Bushel with the weight of his vengeance. 'While he had anything to do with the city, he would have an eye on him.' The Lord Mayor termed him 'a pitiful fellow' and added, 'I will have his nose cut for this.'"

* (i) Mary Bushell—John Cudworth, (ii) P.C.C. *Administration Act Book*, 1652, f. 16. February 5th. Administration issued to Wm. Robinson, the natural and lawful only son of Martha Cudworth, late of the parish of Allhallows Barking, neire the Tower of London, etc.

† This transcended the usual form—inhumanly. The Jury asked for a chamber pot later, and it was refused.

‡ October 30th fell upon Sunday in 1670; the 22nd after Trinity.

Penn. "It is intolerable that my jury should be thus menaced."
Lord Mayor. "Stop his mouth, jailor ; bring him fetters, and stake him to the ground."

"The court sat again until next morning at seven o'clock" and then returned both prisoners : "Not Guilty."

Recorder. "God keep your life out of my hands ; the court fines you forty marks a man, and commands imprisonment till paid."

"Both jury and prisoners were forced together into the bail dock, for non-payment of their fines, whence they were carried to Newgate."

Penn's curious relationship to James II, a relationship paralleled conversely between Cromwell's family and at least one of his Catholic recusant neighbours, would have saved him any great danger.

At the present day Penn and Mead would have been tried, without a jury, upon a charge of obstruction, and possibly of "insulting the police." Penn would have been acquitted, but Mead found guilty of the use of obscene language, provided by a thoughtful constable, and the magistrate, after several pleasantries, would have awarded him a fortnight's hard labour.

In those days of lesser liberty and enlightenment, Bushell (Edward Bushell as the *Domestic State Papers* evidence) appealed. On November 3rd, 1670, Bushell moved the Court of Common Pleas for a Habeas Corpus, but the Court, after consideration of precedents, held that those cited applied to criminal proceedings, and not to imprisonment in default of the payment of a fine incurred in the course of civil process. At length, before a full bench of twelve judges of the same Court, decision was had that the fining and imprisonment were contrary to law. The jury was accordingly discharged ; and, actions being brought against the Lord Mayor, the Recorder and the aldermen, exemplary damages were obtained.

The principle established was not that of the immunity of juries, or of their unrestrained freedom to give a verdict according to their conscience : remedy still remains whereby the givers of a perverse verdict may be brought to justice. What Bushell did establish was the immunity of juries from arbitrary and immediate treatment of their verdicts as a contempt of court.

The names of the jury deserve record. They were : Thomas Veer, Edward Bushell, John Hammond, Henry Healey, Henry Michal, John Brightman, Charles Milson, Gregory Walkler, John Baily, William Lever, James Damask, William Plumsted.

When, in 1672, the lot of dissenting ministers was lightened by the Declaration of Indulgence, Bushell sought licences for his house at Homerton, and for that in Little St. Helen's. The preacher licensed was Mr. Peter Sterry. Sterry's abode in the

neighbourhood of Hackney, like that of Jeremy White, would be explicable by reference to the residence in the near neighbourhood of so many of the men and women who had once been great, in the short Cromwellian era; Fleetwood, the Cromwells, and the many whose names are to be found on the Hackney registers. The immunity of these from anything like persecution directed from the Court is remarkable. Bushell, as many other of the Puritans, notably Cradock, had influential friends among those politically opposed to him, and his application for Mr. Peter Sterry was granted upon May 16th, within a week of the time in which it was made. On November 19th following, Sterry died.

When a quarter of a century prior to this time Hutchins had made his will he had conjoined Humphrey Ford with Edward Bushell as co-executor, "in respect of his weakness and natural indisposition, as having special need of aid and assistance." Thereon Bushell proceeded to outlive his relatives and contemporaries.

His brother-in-law, John Cudworth, in February, 1674/5, being aware of mental incapacity, created a body of trustees for his children: Ralph Cudworth, Dr. Whichcote, Edward Bushell, Thomas Firmin and Samuel Brett, and gave to them and to his eldest son John Cudworth in trust lands and tenements, worth about £20,000, reserving to himself £50 a year and board and lodging. In May he made a will, omitting any clause declaring that he was of sound mind and memory. This will was proved on May 18th, four days after its signature. Both Bushell and Firmin, who survived to be sued upon the trusts created, alleged that they acted under the advice of the famous Mr. Serjeant Maynard, but John Cudworth the son, principal beneficiary, denied, in the course of an action raised against Bushell in 1691, that he had any knowledge of existing will or probate of any will of his father. The litigation between brothers and trustees and cousins became general, and, amidst it, Edward Bushell died in 1694; rather less wealthy than might have been expected. He was *inter alia* past Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company.

Among his legacies is £10 to Jeremy White, no doubt the chaplain of Cromwell, who, aspiring to marry Frances, the daughter of the Protector, was tricked into marrying her maid. The whole story, told in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, supplies an awful warning against the use of ingenious (and untruthful) excuses. In brief, Jeremy was found on his knees, kissing the hand of Frances. The Protector sought the reason. Jeremy replied that he had an unclerical fancy for the waiting-maid of Frances, and was asking aid in his suit. Cromwell gave him the aid all too willingly, had the maid brought, a chaplain also, and the two married before any explanation could be rendered.

Of the descendants of Edward Bushell, I have recorded some-

what in *London Citizens of 1651*. Such other information as is in my possession is derived from the registers of various City churches, of Brill in Buckinghamshire, and of Hackney in the north of London. Of this, such as is indubitably correct and relevant is embodied in the pedigree annexed. The registers furnish matter, of course, for conjecture and uncertainty, as all registers do : but fascinating as may be those states of mind in the sciences, in the fantastic speculations of medicine, physics and theology, they have no place in the unprosaic record of facts that constitutes the base of biography and of genealogy.

J. C. WHITEBROOK

The Antinomian Controversy

BEFORE the history of the so-called Antinomian controversy can be properly written, the literature of it will require to be carefully placed in chronological order. One pamphlet was generally the cause of another, and although the pamphlets sometimes contain the date of the year of their publication, a difficulty arises when pamphlets were published in the same year. The anonymity of the literature is another problem; and, in view of these facts, the following article does not profess to be either completely accurate or exhaustive.

The theological aspect of the controversy does not fall within the scope of this article, and was concerned with several abstruse points in the Protestant doctrine of Justification. Both the subjective and the objective features of this doctrine were revived, the topics of Faith, Election, and the Extent of Christ's Righteousness being discussed with acuteness, and occasionally with acrimony.

The doctrine of Justification was not finally settled, even by the Thirty-nine Articles and the Westminster standards. The views of Tobias Crisp, D.D. (1600-1643), gave the Assembly some trouble. (*Vide* article on Crisp in the *D.N.B.*)* From the Restoration, the subject was kept alive

* In brief, it may be said that Crisp and his followers laid such exclusive stress on the completeness of a believer's justification that they were accused of denying the obligation of the moral law; hence the name of "Antinomians." They in turn charged their opponents, whom they called "Neonomians," with going about to establish the Romish notion of Work-Righteousness. Usually, but not universally, the Independents favoured the views of Crisp, while the Presbyterians opposed them [*Ed.*].

by the writings of Crisp and by the discussion between Richard Baxter and John Owen. This earlier period of the controversy was never quite forgotten, and a link between this and the later period was Stephen Lobb's pamphlet: *The Glory of Free Grace Display'd*, 1680.

The whole question was once more raised through the republication of Crisp's works by his son: *Christ Alone Exalted*, 1690. The volume contained a certificate from some London ministers, who apparently professed to testify only to the correctness of Crisp's transcript of his father's sermons. The incident provoked irritation among both parties, but did not prevent them from drawing up "Heads of Agreement," at the beginning of the year 1692. This document was a testimony to the sincere relationship between the Presbyterians and the Independents in essential matters. They agreed to drop their designations, and to call themselves the "United Brethren." Several of the extreme Independents did not accept this compact, and they were a source of irritation to the Presbyterian party, as well as of injury to their own party, during the following ten years.

Both parties had carried on the Pinners' Hall Lecture, held every Tuesday, and it was there that Dr. Daniel Williams (the minister of the Hand Alley Presbyterian meeting-house) referred to the controversy "once, and only once," his reason being that Crisp's son had referred to him in the book recently published. Thomas Cole, the minister of Silver Street Independent meeting-house, took the reference personally, and when his turn came to preach at Pinners' Hall he replied to Williams. In order to heal matters, a friend suggested that Williams and Cole should meet; and this they did in the presence of other three

ministers. Williams read over his sermon, to which Cole took no exception, afterwards declaring at Pinners' Hall that there was no real difference between Williams and him. Williams made a similar declaration, but, unfortunately, "the calm did not endure." Cole, says he, "soon after broke into the wonted exclamations . . . and I was accounted the chief mark. Though often provoked, I never expressed my resentment there [Pinners' Hall], except in the first discourse."

The important event this year was the publication of a book by Williams: *Gospel Truth Stated and Vindicated*; first edition, 1692, third edition, 1698; which came out in the summer. Williams had apparently heard that Cole was preparing a volume, and he forestalled Cole. The event created a stir, and caused much ill feeling between the two parties. The Independents drew up a Paper of Exceptions in October, 1692; and, as a result, a committee of ten was appointed by the United Brethren: five who had read the book, and five who had not.

It was from this time that the pamphlets began to appear. The writer of an interesting pamphlet remarked that the opponents of the Protestant view seemed jealous against Antinomianism, but forgot the other extreme of Arminianism.¹ In the autumn of 1692, Dr. William Bates published a sermon which he had preached: *Peace at Pinners' Hall Wisht*, to which a reply was given by a well known Independent minister, Isaac Chauncy: *Examen Confectionis Pacificae, or a Friendly Examination*. In a less friendly manner Chauncy tackled Williams: *Neonomianism Unmask'd, Part I*. He called Williams "the head of a new

¹ Vide *A Vindication of the Protestant Doctrine of Justification*, 1692. Generally attributed to Thomas Goodwin, but attributed by the *D.N.B.* to Robert Trail.

sect," and explained why he described him as a Neonomian.

The winter of 1692 saw a number of pamphlets, and the dispute went on through 1693. Williams issued *A Defence of Gospel Truth* (1693), and Chauncy published *A Rejoynder to Dr. Williams* (1693), that is, to a criticism by Williams (in his *Defence*) of the first part of *Neonomianism Unmask'd*. A sarcastic and orthodox pamphlet was written this year: *A War among the Angels of the Churches*, by "A Country Professor of Jesus Christ," which Williams considered was written "with an air of falsehood and prophaneness."

Stephen Lobb, who apparently had been silent on this subject since 1680, entered the field again by the publication of *A Peacable Enquiry* (1693).

Another element in the controversy was the incident associated with the name of Richard Davis. He was a schoolmaster, but exercised the pastoral function. He had been in London for a time, but removed to Rothwell, Northamptonshire, where he preached an ultra-Calvinistic theology, and practised various ecclesiastical eccentricities and extravagances. His actions disturbed the local Nonconformist ministers, and a pamphlet was written against him: *A True Account of a most horrid and dismal Plague begun at Rothwell*, 1692. In defence, Davis replied (*Truth and Innocency Vindicated Against*, etc.: licensed Nov. 4th, 1692), and referred to Williams by name. Thereupon nearly all the London ministers dissociated themselves from Davis (*The Sense of the United Ministers in and about London concerning*, etc., published in the winter of 1692/3). Dr. Williams identified the views of Davis with the views of Dr. Crisp, and stated that Crisp's son "put a book out of his own, to abet some of his father's opinions." These statements by Williams

definitely connect the Rothwell incident with the Antinomian controversy.

Chauncy had fastened the name of "Neonomianism" to the opinion of Williams and his friends, and in this year a volume appeared, the title of which suggested the source of Chauncy's views. It was entitled *Crispianism Unmask'd* (1693). It has generally been attributed to the well known Calvinistic clergyman, John Edwards, D.D. (1637-1716), but, according to Williams, it was written by "an abler man than another of the same name, who was also writing at that time."

The controversy in the year 1693 had therefore become well defined, Williams being recognised as the leader of the Presbyterian party, and Chauncy the leader of the Independents. Williams was of the opinion that Cole was "excited by more designing persons," with the result that "he could scarce in any sermon for a long time forbear breaking out against us." This is probably a reference to the influence of Stephen Lobb, whose political Nonconformity was well known. An attempt to avoid the issues was made by John Howe, in what Calamy called "two admirable sermons" (*The Carnality of Religious Contentions*, 1693).

Throughout the year 1693 the controversy was acute, and in 1694 the affair reached a crisis. Nathanael Mather contributed a pamphlet: *The Righteousness of God through Faith*, 1694; and William Lorimer defended the ministers who had put their signatures to the volume containing the reprint of Crisp's works. (*An Apology for the Ministers who Subscribed*, 1694). Williams also replied to Lobb's *Enquiry*. (*Man Made Righteous by etc.*, 1694.)

The feeling between the two parties had now

become intense, and the Independents demanded the withdrawal of the name of Dr. Williams from the list of preachers at Pinners' Hall. This dispute began in August, 1694, and finished on November 7th of the same year, with the result that the Presbyterians set up a Lecture at Salters' Hall, at the same day and hour as the Pinners' Hall Lecture. According to one report (*History of the Union between, etc.*, 1698: second edition), the Congregationalists did not fill the vacancies on the rota at Pinners' Hall until February, 1694/95. In the spring of this year (1694/95) a grave charge was raised against Dr. Williams, from which he was fully acquitted (*Eighteenth Century Non-conformity*, p. 17: published 1915).

In the year 1695 several pamphlets appeared, the chief being *Mediocria*, by John Humfry, a venerable figure in the Nonconformity of the times; *A Letter to Dr. Bates*, by Stephen Lobb; and *A Discourse on the True Nature of the Gospel*, by Thomas Goodwin, jr., of Pinner, Middlesex.

In the year 1696 Humfry, who had apparently been consulted by Lobb before the latter had published his *Letter to Dr. Bates*, attempted once more to mediate (*Pacification Touching the Doctrinal Dissent among etc.*). William Lorimer, a Scotch Presbyterian in London, with more Calvinism than his English Presbyterian brethren had, answered Thomas Goodwin, jr. (*Remarks on Mr. Goodwin's Discourse etc.*).

The feature of the year 1697 was the contributions made by Lobb and Vincent Alsop. The former published *A Report of the Present State of the Difference in etc.*, and about the same time issued a pamphlet on *The Growth of Error*. Another writer issued *A Confutation of some of Mr. Williams's Errors by etc.* Williams attributed this to Lobb, or to "a small instrument of his."

In reply, Vincent Alsop, the minister of Westminster Presbyterian meeting-house, published: *A Faithful Rebuke to a False Report* (1697), the wit of this clever writer giving much annoyance to his opponents. Isaac Chauncy came to the help of Lobb, in *A Plea for the Ancient Gospel* (1697).

In the following year Lobb published *A Defence of the Report* (1698), and Alsop replied with a *Vindication of the Faithful Rebuke* (1698). The most important contribution this year was the third edition, by Williams, of *Gospel Truth*, which in addition to other matter contained a long reply to Mather's pamphlet of 1694.

The controversy took a new turn in 1698, when Lobb published *An Appeal to the Bishop of Worcester for an Impartial Decision*. In this pamphlet Lobb accused Richard Baxter (who had died in 1691) of Socinianism. The bishop answered for himself: *A Discourse Concerning the Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction*; and Dr. John Edwards (previously mentioned) defended Baxter (*A Plea for the late Mr. Baxter*, 1699). Chauncy wrote several pamphlets which may be placed about this time, but it is evident that after the death of Lobb in 1699 the controversy became less heated. The publication by Williams of *An End to Discord* may be taken as the closing note in a dispute, which, although it died down, left its mark upon the opinions of the two parties until at least the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The basis of settlement was the doctrine contained in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, with that in the Westminster Confession and the Savoy Confessional. It was a virtual victory for the historical Calvinistic position on the subject of Justification, which with Baxter's modifications became a generally accepted one. The controversy had confined itself to the metropolis, but its un-

settling effect in the provinces was seen in the book by Matthew Smith, of Mixenden, Yorkshire, and in a reference by Dr. Richard Gilpin, of Newcastle-on-Tyne. (Nightingale's *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, p. 1396; published 1911.)

Considered after the lapse of over two centuries, there is no controversy in the history of Nonconformity that was more unfortunate or less profitable. Nothing was gained, and much denominational dislike was engendered. The Congregational Fund Board owed its existence to the quarrel (C.H.S. *Trans.* v. p. 134). It is needless now to apportion blame, but in fairness it may be said that the Presbyterians did their utmost to avoid the controversy. It is true that they were gradually gliding away from Calvinism, in some of its aspects upon which excessive emphasis had been placed during the seventeenth century; but it is also true that on the matters for which they contended they had historical support, and their action at that time would probably be regarded to-day as wise and right by Presbyterian and Independent alike.

J. HAY COLLIGAN.

The Origin of Nonconformity in Sheffield

(continued from p. 360)

THE Rev. James Fisher continued to preside over the Congregational fellowship in Sheffield until his death in January, 1666. In his frequent absences through imprisonment, the enforcement of the Five Mile Act, and ill health, there was no lack of displaced ministers to carry on the work until, in 1669, the Rev. Robert Durant, ejected from Crowle, was chosen pastor.¹⁶ The rooms in the workhouse not required for poor law purposes, now rented by Fisher's son, a surgeon, continued to be the place of meeting; licences for preaching there being granted to Richard Taylor, ejected from Great or Long Houghton, and, later, to Durant. Increasing in strength, the congregation became strong enough to adapt a building, known as the New Hall, as a home of its own. Immediately after its opening Durant died (February, 1678-9). After an interregnum of several years, Timothy Jollie entered on the ministry which gave to the early days of Sheffield Nonconformity their chief distinction. By 1700 a chapel had been built, known at first as the New Chapel, but later, and still, as the Upper Chapel. Its history has been written by one of its recent ministers, the Rev. J. E. Manning. He has conclusively proved that both Timothy Jollie and the church were Independent, not, as has often been said, Presbyterian¹⁷: testimony all the more weighty when we remember the author's environment.

This conflict of view leads to a whimsical inversion. On the one hand, the demonstration of the Unitarian inheritor of the spoils, implies that the overthrow of the Independent model was an invasion. On the other hand, Congregationalists are found depriving their ancestors of their main justification, by writing as if the seceders had been intruders in a (so-called) Presbyterian

¹⁶ I have accepted here, and later below, the statement of Calamy and his successors, that Durant was ejected from Crowle. But it is worth noting that inquiry at that place has failed to find any trace of him as holding the living there. A list of seventeenth century vicars does not contain his name.

¹⁷ *E.g.* Cong. Hist. Soc. *Transactions*, vol. iv., pp. 333, 341. In the great disruption on Jollie's death, the victory was won against a majority of the church members, Calvinists, by an unconstitutional alliance between the trustees and seat holders, but no question of Synodic rule was involved.

398 The Origin of Nonconformity in Sheffield

church, not men who, unable to hold the fort of their own making on the old lines, left the captors in possession, preferring rather to build another to their own liking.

Among the Hunter MSS. at the British Museum¹⁸ there is a paper until recently forgotten and unnoticed entitled :

The Names of the Pastor and People of the Church of Christ, Meeting at Sheffield Upper Chapel.

The first name enrolled is that of "the Revd. Mr. Jollie, pastor." The list is undated, and being the copy of a copy such clues as might otherwise be furnished by original handwriting, or handwritings, interlineations, ink, and so forth, are lacking. But a careful analysis leads to the conclusion that it is a roll of members extending from the beginning of Robert Durant's pastorate in 1669 to the occupation of Upper Chapel, under Timothy Jollie, in 1700. That it was not a "live" list at the latter date is evidenced by the retention of the names of members then deceased, and it is also clear that certain glosses have been added by later hands, probably at different times. Its most helpful feature is that to a few names, all too few, there is appended the date of admission. The earliest of these is 26th September, 1674, during Durant's pastorate; the latest 31st December, 1681, when Jollie's ministry was yet young.

Some members can be recognised as survivals from the first church, and there are Fisher's daughters, entered before Elizabeth Fisher's marriage with Timothy Jollie in 1681. Miss Durant is on the list; with sundry ejected ministers, like Richard Taylor, or their families. Students under Mr. Frankland, and later under Mr. Jollie at Attercliffe, are represented to the number of sixteen. Among these the name of Thomas Secker¹⁹ is somewhat puzzling, since as the future Archbishop of Canterbury was not born until 1693 he was manifestly too young for church membership in 1700. The fact that the name appears twice creates a suspicion that, if there were not two Thomas Seckers, it is a posthumous interpolation made after 1758, the year of the elevation to the primacy, by some one whose Nonconformity was dazzled by the glamour of setting up a nodding acquaintance with a mitre.

Of the 260 members (123 men and 137 women) the great majority were, of course, ordinary townsfolk. All that it is necess-

¹⁸ Add. MS. 24437 f. 112.

¹⁹ Cong. Hist. Soc. *Transactions* iv, 336. We learn from a note on p. 473, vol. ii, of the second edition of *The Nonconformist's Memorial* that the list was shewn to Samuel Palmer, who accepted it as disproving a denial that Archbishop Secker had ever communicated in any dissenting church. Perhaps, it is safer to say that what it proved was the firm belief of the Sheffield Nonconformists of Secker's day that he had been a member of Jollie's church. And their knowledge was a matter within living memory. John Smith, the owner of the MS., was twenty-one years of age when Secker, after holding the primacy for ten years, died in 1768.

The Origin of Nonconformity in Sheffield 399

ary to say of these here is that, even thus early, they represent the marked influence for good which Nonconformists have ever exercised on the public life of the place. It is the outlying members whose presence sets a problem to the elucidation of which the help of experts in Nonconformist lore is invited. There are especially two conspicuous groups of distant residents, one living at Fishlake, some eight and twenty miles from Sheffield, beyond Doncaster and near the Lincolnshire border; the other at Glapwell, twenty miles away, between Chesterfield and Mansfield, and on the confines of Nottinghamshire.

The Fishlake group comprises the following, and possibly others unidentified :

Nicholas Crabtree, of Fishlock (*sic*).
Anthruppe Crabtree, admitted 26 Sep., 1674.
Kate Dickinson.
Robt. Dickinson.
Dorcas Clarke, of Fishlock.
Thomas Law, of Cankley [Cantley, near Doncaster]
admitted 26 July, 1676.
Thomas Law's wife, of Cankley.

The Glapwell group is :

T. Woolhouse.
Elizabeth Woolhouse.
Miss Woolhouse.
Whorwood Hallowes [female].
Nathaniel Bacon, admitted 26 Sep., 1675.
Mary Akers, July 28, 1678.
Sarah Akers.

Both these places have a marked personal association with Robert Durant. Fishlake is not far from Crowle, the scene of his ejection, and Reedness (the Redness of Calamy), where "he preached in private" until 1664, is near at hand. Haled thence to York Castle, he there formed a friendship with a fellow prisoner, Mr. Thomas Woolhouse, of Glapwell Hall, "that great supporter of Godly ministers," through whose recommendation he became Fisher's successor at Sheffield. Timothy Jollie was also on terms of close friendship with the Glapwell family. By his hands a long succession of Mr. Woolhouse's grandchildren were baptized, and we read in Mrs. Jollie's diary of journeys to Glapwell whose safe accomplishment was "a mercy worth remembering and being thankful for."²⁰

But such considerations do not explain the inclusion, as members, of these persons, and of others living at Retford and elsewhere, whose regular presence at Communion in Sheffield was manifestly

²⁰ Manning's *Good Puritan Woman*, p. 15; and *Upper Chapel*, p. 61.

400 The Origin of Nonconformity in Sheffield

impossible.²¹ Yet on the duty of this the old church covenants are most solemnly insistent. Its neglect was so sinful a breach of duty as to be regarded as sure proof of spiritual backsliding. One of the names on the Fishlake list carries the difficulty a step further, for it brings under notice the case of a non-resident, Robert Dickinson, who was not merely a member, but an officer, a preaching elder of the Sheffield church. In 1672 a licence was granted to this Robert Dickinson for preaching in his house at Fishlake; and in his well known account of Timothy Jollie's ordination (April 25th, 1681) Oliver Heywood says:

“Besides Mr. T. Jolly we were desired to take a test of the gifts of other two *viz.* Mr. David Noble, formerly school-master at Morley, my son's master, now living with Mr. Woolhouse, in Derbyshire . . . Another was one Robert Dickinson, a member and ruling elder of that [Sheffield] society, an English scholar only, but a good man of rare parts, and hath preached about 10 years at seasons, and in his own house beyond Doncaster, 18 miles from Sheffield.”²²

That Dickinson was still living at Fishlake in the August following is shewn by the register of the baptism of his two sons there by Timothy Jollie, in that month.

The rules of the Attercliffe church, previously mentioned, provide that members so situated, on occasion, as to make attendance at the ordinances at home inconvenient, may join with others “so long as the sacraments are dispensed according to the Scripture.” But clearly this legislation is for casual absentees, not for permanent non-residents. And the same church, while welcoming strangers, seriously advised them to join themselves to others in the places where they dwell, if haply there “the ordinances are vouchsafed in due purity.”

Were there none such available for the Fishlake, Glapwell, and Retford people, up to, and a few years after, the Toleration Act of 1688?²³ Of the larger towns within the area under consideration Doncaster had not a church until 1692, Chesterfield until 1694, and Mansfield until 1701. But more obscure places had their little fellowships: as Bolsover (in which parish Glapwell was situated) about 1662; Attercliffe 1676. And many Nonconformist squires, like Mr. Woolhouse, had chapels at their Halls, with resident chaplains ministering.

²¹ “Jno. Brooks of York” and “Mr. Brooks of Wakefield” had been students at the Attercliffe academy. The insertion of their subsequent pastorates is doubtless a later interpolation.

²² *Diaries* ii. 199. Richard, son of Nicholas and Anthruppe Crabtree of Fishlake, also on the list of membership, was apprenticed to a Nonconformist Master Cutler, and his brother was bound to Abel Yates with whom Jollie “tabled,” and in whose house, adjoining the New Hall Meeting, the above ordination took place.

²³ Cong. Hist. Soc. *Transactions*, vi. 199.

A deduction which may, or may not, have a bearing on the subject under consideration, can be drawn from the registers of children baptised by Timothy Jollie.²⁴ These cover so wide a range of residence as to suggest that, though not so indefatigably peripatetic as Oliver Heywood, Jollie, notwithstanding the claims of his congregation and his tutorial duties, undertook many apostolic journeyings, not only to the places already mentioned, but even so far afield as to Pontefract, Beverley and Gainsborough. The baptisms indicate an eagerness on the part of many parents to seize opportunities afforded by visits primarily designed for the strengthening of the saints by prayer and preaching. Observances of the Lord's Supper at such times clearly would be very occasional communions. It is evident that many, like Oliver Heywood's daughter-in-law, owned Mr. Jollie as their "spiritual father." He "was also my son in the faith" adds Heywood.

There are incidents connected with the Glapwell Nonconformists which throw a vivid light on the venom of enemies who, not content with cruel persecution during life, carried their petty spite to the grave. It is no uncommon thing to read in Calamy some such sentence as this: "He was buried in his own garden, not being allowed to be interred in what was called holy ground."²⁵

An inhabitant of Bolsover, in which parish Glapwell lies, has left a quaint diary,²⁶ wherein there are the following entries relating to three members of the Upper Chapel, shewing another form of insult:

"22 July 1697. Sarah Akers was interred in Bolsover church yard, but had not Christian burial."

"14 Oct. 1698. Thomas Woolhouse, of Glapwell, esquire, was buried under the old tomb in the chancel belonging to Bolsover church, but had not Christian burial."

"22 March 1698. Mary, wife of John Akers buried without Christian burial."

The vicar of Bolsover had no power to prevent the interment of "that great supporter of Godly ministers" in "the old tomb in the chancel" where lay the dust of ancestors accumulated during 300 years; but while prohibiting any religious rites he did not scruple to exact a fee for "breaking ground." There is a bitter irony in these exhibitions of insensate bigotry when we remember that Bolsover was then cursed with a quick succession of fleeting vicars who might have sat for the portrait in *Lycidas* of those who "creep and intrude and climb into the fold." The living was under chronic sequestration. One vicar boarded with the church-

²⁴ Manning's *Upper Chapel*, p. 198, *et. segg.*

²⁵ *Nonconformist's Memorial*, 1803, iii, 77; 455, *et. segg.*

²⁶ *Derbyshire Arch. Socy. Journal*, ix., p. 68.

warden, went a-fishing with him, borrowed money from him, and decamped in a few months with all his belongings. The installation of the next was promptly followed by arrest for debt and shortly afterwards by trial at Derby on a charge of arson. His successor, with too tender a conscience to permit Christian burial to godfearing Dissenters, had his hand cut off in an unseemly broil at Chesterfield.

By such instruments, and by such methods, did the stainless Stuart and his saintly advisers seek to stamp out those wicked schismatics who, in the words of the Act of Uniformity, "following their own sensuality, living without knowledge and by great and scandalous neglect, lead to the decay and scandal of religion, and to the hazard of many souls."

On the death of Thomas Woolhouse, above mentioned, Glapwell Hall passed, through the marriage of his daughter and heiress (the Elizabeth Woolhouse of the membership list), to Samuel Hallows, whose opulent Nonconformist family had already large possessions in other parts of Derbyshire: at Dronfield, Dethick and elsewhere. The name Samuel Hallows occurs among Frankland's students at Rathmell in 1678, and again as one at Attercliffe, under Timothy Jollie in 1686. Thomas Hallows, the eldest of the nine children issue of the above alliance, all baptized by Timothy Jollie, married Lady Catherine Brabazon, daughter of the Earl of Meath, and one of their daughters became the wife of John Cromwell (also baptised by Jollie), whose father, John Cromwell of Retford, and whose mother, Hephzibah, daughter of a prominent Sheffield Nonconformist, were both Upper Chapel members. His grandfather was the Rev. John Cromwell, ejected from Clayworth, Notts. We may gather from Calamy's interesting account of this minister²⁷ that although he had been favourably noticed by the Protector, not as a relative but as a namesake, his cognomen was his greatest misfortune after the Restoration, as giving additional zest to the virulence of his persecutors. The Rev. James Fisher describes him as "a scholar, by name Master Cromwell, one related to Master Hatfield's family"²⁸—and therefore connected with Fisher himself, Cromwell's wife being Mrs. Fisher's niece.

The name Whorwood Hallows among Jollie's members, brings another faint suggestion of the Protector since Oliver's daughter, Bridget, was married to Henry Ireton at the house of Lady Whorwood, at Holton, now Bolton Park, Oxford. There were Whorwoods, important people at Sturton Castle, Staffordshire and they seem to have had some close connection with Mansfield. The name of Whorwood Hallows does not appear in the

²⁷ *Nonconformist's Memorial*. Edition 1803. Vol. iii., p. 90.

²⁸ *The Wise Virgin*. Manning, p. 5.

pedigrees of the family as compiled in Hunter's *Familiae Minorum Gentium* (Harleian Society).

There was recently announced the death, 28th September, 1914, of the Rev. Brabazon Chambre Hallows, rector of Eastnor, Ledbury, son of the late Rev. Brabazon Hallows, of Glapwell Hall. Which carries its own interpretation.

There has come to light what are believed to be the rooms, in Attercliffe Old Hall, granted by William Spencer for the use of Richard Frankland's (1686-1689) and Timothy Jollie's academy. (See C.H.S. *Transactions*, ii., 425; iv., 333.) This survival is one wing of the building, now divided into tenements, with an external brick-facing to the original stone masonry. The upper rooms are ornamented with ceilings and friezes of elaborate design, in plaster relief of fine workmanship. A crest is displayed, not yet identified as one borne by any local family. It is not that of Spencer, or Frankland, or Jollie, and is presumably the emblem of some earlier owner. Over the fireplace in the principal apartment is an oblong plaster panel, bearing this motto:

: WHAT . SOEVER . THOV . DOST . TAKE
: IN . HANDE . THINKE . OF . THE . ENDE
: & . SELDOM . SO . SHALT . THOV . OFENDE

In the first part of this paper (*ante* p. 357) reasons were given for thinking that there was, in Sheffield, in 1652, a "Reformed church," over which Vicar Fisher presided as pastor. An additional scrap of testimony is found in one of the "Remains" of Thomas Jollie given on p. 165 of this volume of the *Transactions*. There are set forth the conclusions arrived at by "the Elders and Messengers of the Congregational Churches" of the West Riding and adjoining counties, at a conference held in Sheffield, 22 July, 1658. It may be confidently assumed that Sheffield would not have been chosen as a place of assembly unless there existed in that town a Congregational church whose members were ready to welcome the delegates.

R. E. LEADER.

Puritanism in Little England beyond Wales¹

THE object of this paper is to shew how, in a part of the country not nearly so well known for its abounding and varied interest as it should be, the seeds of Independency and Congregationalism took root at an early date. The story is brought down to 1662, and I hope in a further paper to trace the course of events from that time, with some mention of the origin of the Congregational churches of south Pembrokeshire, and the men whom this corner of Wales, so distinct from the rest of the Principality, reared and contributed to the denominational life of the whole country. I am under great and manifest indebtedness to *The History of Pembrokeshire*, by the late Rev. James Phillips, one of the first members of the Congregational Historical Society, a zealous and well equipped antiquarian, and a devoted student of Nonconformist origins and history.

Any account of religion in Pembrokeshire should, I fancy, begin with the Druids; and my good friend Sir Edward Anwyl, whose untimely decease is a heavy loss both to Wales and to Congregationalism, would probably have started there and awakened his readers' interest at once. I cannot go into fields so remote, nor can I do more than touch on the wonderful Christian activity which in the fifth and sixth centuries had its headquarters in the little island of Caldy, off Tenby. Recent events have made Caldy famous

¹ The name is sometimes erroneously applied to the peninsula of Gower, lying west of Swansea, in Glamorganshire. Its true connotation is south Pembrokeshire.

as a Benedictine community, but its chief glory must remain in those far off days when it was a rival to that other famous island and monastery of Lerins in the Gulf of Lyons. What Lerins did for south Gaul, Caldy did for Wales and for Brittany. It was an isle of saints, and the names of David, Gildas and Samson, stand out as lights in a dark age. After their day the next great name in the religious life of Little England is that of Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald the Welshman), the famous contemporary of Henry II, a native of Manorbier, and remembered both for his valuable surveys of Wales and Ireland, and for his long struggle for the see of St. David's.

Another long stride brings us to the days of the Reformation and the Marian persecution. Among those who suffered were two Pembrokeshire men: Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, at Carmarthen, and William Nicol of Haverfordwest, in his native town. He was an unlearned man (like Rawlins White of Cardiff: these were the only three who suffered in Wales), "who gained the honour of martyrdom by his earnestness in pressing upon others that truth which had been to himself the power of God unto salvation."

One who escaped the stake deserves mention here among the forerunners of Puritanism in Pembrokeshire. Robert Recorde (1510-1558), of Tenby (whose ancestors came from Kent), was at once Doctor of Sciences, Doctor of Physic, and a great divine. He was a fellow of All Souls, and especially noted as the first convert in England to the Copernican view of astronomy, and the first writer in English on Arithmetic and Algebra, which science he introduced into this country. He was the originator of the sign =. Our interest in him is not on these grounds, nor because he was one of Queen Mary's physicians, but that he was known as a staunch Protestant.

Another sturdy Protestant was Sir John Perrot: Perrot is a great name in Pembrokeshire history. He was an illegitimate son of Henry VIII, and his morals, like his father's, were not above reproach. He found himself in trouble in Mary's reign, and was denounced by a neighbour for harbouring heretics. After a brief imprisonment he was sent to serve in the campaign against the French on the Flemish frontier. He was the ablest man in the county in the reign of Elizabeth, and was viceroy of Ireland 1584-8.

Another great county name is that of the Devereux, better known as Earls of Essex: Walter the first earl, Robert the second (ill-fated friend of Elizabeth and Viceroy of Ireland ere he was executed in 1601), and Robert, the third, the famous Parliamentary general. Then there were the Meyricks and the Philippses. These are worth noting because they created the atmosphere in which principles of Puritanism and afterwards of Nonconformity took root and thrived.

Before we leave Elizabethan times it behoves us to glance at Robert Holland, M.A. (Cantab.), a native of Conway (1557-1622?), who held three rectories in Pembrokeshire and one in Carmarthenshire. He wrote a *Holy History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's Nativity, Life, Acts, &c., gathered into English metre, and published to withdraw vain wits from all unsavoury and wicked rhymes and fables to some love and liking of spiritual songs and holy scriptures,* 1594. Another work from his pen contained Stories of Two Welshmen meeting on a mountain and discussing all they had seen and heard about conjurers, wizards, &c.

Under the Perrots and the Devereux the county in the Elizabethan age acquired an importance out of proportion to its size and resources, and this was not diminished in the stormy days of the

17th century. Pembrokeshire was Protestant, and its Protestantism was of the Puritan type. In 1620 the Mayor and Corporation of Haverfordwest asserted that in their town no recusant had been known since the Reformation. Side by side with the incumbents of the parishes were the "lecturers" or preaching curates, who played an important part in the religious life of the first thirty or forty years of the century. Among them was Stephen Goffe, afterwards Puritan rector of Stanmer in Sussex, and father of William Goffe the Cromwellian general. When he was at St. Mary's, Haverfordwest, he raised a subscription towards the founding of a church and college in the city of Prague in Bohemia, and gave 2s., not a bad contribution compared with the Mayor's sixpence.

Anthony Rudd, Bishop of St. David's 1594-1614, favoured such men; he had strong Puritan leanings, and pleaded the cause of those who objected to the use of the cross in baptism.

Next but one to Rudd at St. David's was William Laud. It is curious that though he only visited his see twice, he insisted (when he became Archbishop) on his successor residing in it. The presence of his iron hand was soon felt in Pembrokeshire as everywhere else. There were several suppressions for Nonconformity, and the vicar of Amroth, near Saundersfoot in the south east of the county, got into trouble for refusing to read the Book of Sports. He was the father of Peregrine Phillips (see below), to whom the oldest Congregational churches in Pembrokeshire trace their foundation. One of the thorns in Laud's side was a Pembrokeshire gentleman named John White, a remarkable person of whom something must now be said.

John White, 1590-1645, "Century White," was born at Henllan, Rhoscrowther, on the south side

of Milford Haven, 29th January, 1590. He descended from a wealthy family of merchants identified with Tenby. One Thos. White, six times mayor, aided the Earls of Richmond (Henry VII) and Pembroke to escape to Brittany after the battle of Tewkesbury; his brother John was seven times mayor.

John White matriculated at Jesus College, 1607, entered the Middle Temple, and was called to the Bar 1618. He became a Bencher in 1641. A Puritan from his youth, in 1625 he and eleven others formed themselves into a committee for buying up unappropriated tithes so as to make better provision for a preaching ministry. Laud set his machinery in motion, the association was dissolved, its funds and patronage confiscated to the king's use, and the feoffees censured in the Star Chamber. Laud "fell bitterly on White as an underminer of the Church."

In 1640 White was M.P. for Southwark. He was elected chairman of the Grand Committee of the House to inquire into immoralities of the clergy, and of a sub-committee for considering how to replace scandalous ministers by Puritan preachers. In November, 1643, he issued a Report: *The First Century of Scandalous Malignant Priests made and admitted into Benefices by the Prelates.*² It was so lurid that his own party dissuaded him from putting out a Second Century. As regards episcopacy he advocated a root and branch policy of extirpation, spoke at the trial of twelve bishops in January, 1641-2, and was appointed a member of the Commons Committee to hear the bishops' defence in the Lords. He gave evidence against Laud on two occasions. He was frequently deputed by the House of Commons to draft

² See Summary in *Transactions*, vi, 57-68.

letters and impeachments; the First Charter of Massachusetts was procured under his advice, and perhaps drafted by him. He died 29th January, 1644-5, and was buried in the Temple church, the House of Commons in a body attending the funeral. His epitaph runs:

“Here lyeth John, a burning shining light
His name, life, actions, were all White.”

The earliest editions of Baxter's *Saints' Rest* included among the attractions of the Heavenly City the meeting with Brooke and Hampden, Pym and White. White's daughter married Dr. Annesley, and her daughter was the mother of John and Charles Wesley. White's contemporaries describe him as a grave and learned lawyer. So extreme was his hostility to the episcopal system that after his death his opponents tried to damage his reputation by charges of immorality. His elder brother, Griffith White, was high sheriff for Pembrokeshire in 1626, and a staunch and active Parliamentarian there throughout the Civil War.

When the great struggle began, Pembrokeshire, alone among the twelve counties of Wales, was on the side of the Puritans, for it was the one county where Puritanism had any real hold upon the upper classes. The leaders of the anti-court party were Sir James Perrot (son of Sir John), and his brother-in-law, Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle. Perrot, who was M.P. for Haverfordwest, was a Puritan of the noblest type, a man of great ability and accomplishments, the author of several treatises, philosophical and religious, and the intimate friend of Henry Vaughan the Silurist. Other county gentry were equally eager, as were the three towns: Pembroke, Haverfordwest and Tenby, for “the House and the Word.” The Commander-in-Chief of the Parliamentary arms,

the Earl of Essex, was a Pembrokeshire squire; the Adjutant-General, Sir John Meyrick, was another, and in his own regiment several of the officers were Pembrokeshire men.

With the rest of Wales in the hands of the Cavaliers and no parliamentary force nearer than Gloucester or Bristol, the Roundheads of Pembrokeshire were in a difficult position. Pembroke Castle and town were secured by the energy of the Mayor, John Poyer, but Tenby and Haverfordwest could offer little resistance, and Puritanism was weak in the north of the county. In January, 1644, the Royalists besieged Pembroke, but were repulsed, and the Roundheads took the offensive, and with aid from England cleared the county of the enemy in three months, only to lose most of it to the energy of a new Royalist general. Pembroke and Tenby, however, held out stoutly for the Parliament; and in July, 1645, six weeks after Naseby, the Royalist party in the county was hopelessly beaten (by Laugharne at Colby Moor).

John Meyrick, Laugharne and Poyer are mentioned by Baxter as opposed to Independency. They probably thought that the episcopal system could be reformed from within. There was also a personal grievance. Poyer was irritated by Griffith White, the brother of John, and with the county gentry and Laugharne went over to the Royalists, held Pembroke Castle, and raised an insurrection throughout Pembrokeshire, Carmarthen and Glamorgan. It was short-lived, and Pembrokeshire Puritans as a body had no share in it. Poyer and Laugharne were driven into Pembroke Castle, which Cromwell himself besieged. It held out for six weeks, then starvation brought about surrender. Poyer was shot at Covent Garden and died very penitently. Crom-

well went on to Haverfordwest where he saved St. Mary's church from destruction.

During the siege of Pembroke he made the acquaintance of Peregrine Phillips (1623-1691), son of the vicar of Amroth, who had been suspended for "Inconformity" under Laud. Young Phillips had passed from the Haverfordwest grammar school to Oxford, where the Civil War had put an end to his studies. He took orders, and became curate at Kidwelly. His talents as a preacher in both Welsh and English soon attracted the notice of the Puritan gentry of the neighbourhood, and he was presented to three livings: Monkton and St. Mary's in Pembroke, and Coshaston a few miles away. He figures, together with Adam Hawkins and Thomas Hughes, names which we shall meet again, in a list (probably of 1649) which enumerates fourteen licensed preachers for Pembrokeshire.

No record remains of the way in which the news of Charles I's execution was received in Pembrokeshire, but when Cromwell came in the summer of 1649 to sail for Ireland he was cordially welcomed. It is to his honour that he saved St. Mary's, Haverfordwest, from being stripped of lead. Peregrine Phillips preached on board his ship the day before he sailed for Dublin.

In the following winter Hugh Peters spent some months in Pembrokeshire. He seems to have conferred with local leaders as to the possibility of organizing an Independent church. At his trial eleven years later a Milford doctor, Wm. Yonge, who had been called in to attend Peters, was base enough to give garbled evidence of his private conversations with his patient and helped to secure his condemnation.³

Pembrokeshire men helped to put down the Royalist rising in Cardiganshire in 1651, and sent

³T. G. Crippen: *Life of Hugh Peters*, p. 46 ff., 72 f.

a contingent to Worcester, where Major-General Wm. Goffe, a Haverfordwest man, brilliantly sustained the high reputation he had gained at Dunbar, where he had led Cromwell's own Ironsides to the charge. Wm. Goffe was a member of the High Court that had condemned Charles. At the Restoration he escaped to New England. Colonel Pride was also a native of Haverfordwest. In a severe visitation of plague at Haverfordwest in 1651-2, Stephen Love, the Puritan rector of St. Thomas's, did right Christian work for the poverty stricken people. His name stands at the head of a list of deceased members of the oldest Congregational church in Pembrokeshire, Albany, Haverfordwest, founded by P. Phillips. He died in 1656.

In Pembrokeshire, the hand of the Puritan evictor pressed heavily on the unworthy Anglican clergy.⁴ The authorities evicted some on the ground of worldliness, against whom no immorality could be alleged, but they did much to provide a really efficient ministry, and would have done more if their labours had not been cut short by the Restoration. When Stephen Love died the four Haverfordwest parishes were united. Love's people did not like this, and formed themselves into a separate congregation, and secured the services of Peregrine Phillips, by this time minister of Llangwm and Freystrop. Thus the earliest Nonconformist congregation in the county was the result of a secession from the Church of the Commonwealth, and this explains the presence of Love's name on the Albany church roll, though the beginning of that church is usually dated as

⁴ Walker reports 34 or 35 evictions in about 145 parishes. As the whole number for Wales and Monmouthshire was 136, it shews what a clean sweep was made in Pembrokeshire. Of these twelve were evicted for drunkenness, nine for inefficiency, five for "malignancy" (*i.e.*, active opposition to the Parliament), three as pluralists, one for keeping an ale-house, and four for unspecified causes. It is to their credit that *none* was charged with gross immorality. See *Transactions*, vi, 193 ff. None of these was reinstated in 1660.

1662. About this time the Baptists begin to appear in the county; they came with Vavasor Powell in 1654. In 1657 George Fox paid his first visit to the county; his interesting experiences are recorded in his *Journal*. In 1659 Elizabeth Holmes, a Quaker missionary, laboured with great success in south Pembrokeshire, and with Alice Burkett was imprisoned at Haverfordwest on the information of Adam Hawkins, who had the effrontery to visit them in prison and express his sympathy.

The Rev. James Phillips points out that the Restoration brought about one memorable result in Pembrokeshire: a breach between the landed gentry and Puritanism. The political traditions of Puritanism were not wholly sacrificed, but on the religious side the breach was irreparable. Before the Civil War there had been no Protestant dissent in Pembrokeshire, though the germs were there. Afterwards there were middle class and working class Dissenters on whom the persecutor, whether clergyman or Tory squire, could wreak his spite under the form of law; but the squires, whether Tory or Whig, were Churchmen all. The storm broke first on the Quakers; it will suffice to say that if the Puritans had now and again scourged them with whips, the Cavaliers beat them incessantly with scorpions. It is easy to understand why the Quakers of Pembrokeshire furnished so large a proportion of the first colonists of Pennsylvania, where Haverford College is only the most prominent of many names that perpetuate the old home.

When the Act of 1662 came into effect there were eleven ejections in Pembrokeshire, mainly in the south. They were Thomas Hughes, of Begelley; Adam Hawkins, of St. Ishmael's; Per. Phillips, of Llangwm; Christopher Jackson, of

Lampeter Velfrey; John Luntley, of Llanstadwell; Morgan Thomas, of Mathry; John Bywater, of Pembroke; John Carver, of Tenby; Stephen Young, of Rhoscrowther; David Williams, of Llanfihangel; Thomas Warren, of Narberth. The three last named ultimately conformed; the most famous of them was Young, who had been among the guards on the scaffold at the execution of Charles I. Of most of the eleven nothing more is left than the name and the memory of their faithfulness. History and tradition alike have passed them by to centre on the achievements of Peregrine Phillips. Despite the kindness he had shewn in shielding Episcopal ministers from disturbance in earlier days persecution followed him to the end. The Five Mile Act was put in force against him, and two imprisonments shew how obnoxious he was to the new authorities. In 1672 he was one of two Pembroke ministers who (through Dan. Higgs and Stephen Hughes of Swansea) received a licence to preach in his own house at Dredgman Hill, a mile outside Haverfordwest, and also at the house of Richard Meyler in the town. The name Meyler is still found in the neighbourhood. The other licensed minister of 1672 was John Jones of Kilgerran on the Cardigan border. Both are described as Congregationalists.⁵ But the persecution was renewed, and at the time of Monmouth's rebellion Phillips had to go into hiding. He lived to see the great deliverance in 1688, dying three years later.

To him two churches, one English and one Welsh, trace their origin: Albany, Haverfordwest, and Treffgarn. These are the oldest in the county. (The date 1635 given to Goodwick in the *Year Book* is an error. Goodwick is quite a new cause, founded in 1905.)

A. J. GRIEVE

⁵ See *Transactions* ii, 111., 15, 98, 111, and Turner, *Original Records*.

Congregationalism in the Fen Country

(See Map page 428)

SHORTLY after the Revolution one George Doughty, a member of some unspecified Congregational church, probably that at Bishop's Stortford, began to preach in the fen country between Ely and Newmarket. As a result of his efforts a gathered church was constituted in August, 1692; the chief meeting-places of which were at Burwell and Soham, but the members of which, 16 in number, were drawn from six parishes. In 1694 Mr. Doughty was ordained as pastor of this widely scattered flock; which by 1707 had enrolled 136 members from 22 villages and hamlets, the most remote of which were about 20 miles apart from each other. In 1712 the church divided into two, Mr. Doughty retaining the pastorate of those who gathered at Soham, and a Mr. Royston becoming pastor of the Burwell section. Thus originated two Congregational churches which are flourishing to this day.

According to the Evans MS. in Williams's Library, the church at Soham in 1717 had 200 hearers, of whom 13 were county voters, and that at Burwell had 320 hearers, 14 being county voters. At that time there was also a Presbyterian church at "Fordham and Soham," with 150 hearers; and one at Swaffham Prior, of which no statistics are given.

Among the MSS. in the Congregational Library is a kind of journal in the handwriting of Mr. Doughty, narrating the leading incidents in his ministry. It is entitled *The Church Book*, but is

obviously a private, rather than a public, record. This appears from the very loose manner in which baptisms are noted; often the date is omitted, only the month being given; often the name of the child without that of the parents; at other times the name of the parents without that of the child. Accessions to the church are recorded, and cases of discipline, but usually not deaths or removals.

It is evident that the church exemplified the extreme type of Independency, claiming plenary authority in all ecclesiastical affairs *ex jure divino*. Mr. Doughty's ordination was regarded as the sole act of the local church; the messengers of other churches being invited merely as witnesses, and not one of them holding the pastoral office. In such an ordination there could be no pretence of any such tradition of order or authority as was insisted on alike by Presbyterians and Episcopalians; and it is probably on this account that the Evans MS. (1717) explicitly describes Mr. Doughty as a lay preacher. Moreover, there are signs of a tendency to increasing rigidity. The original church covenant was unexceptionable; but quite early we find participation in "false worship" censured, and later (perhaps as a result of the controversy about occasional conformity) attendance on worship conducted according to the Book of Common Prayer is declared by resolution to be sinful. When the church covenant is formally renewed in 1707 the whole 107 propositions of the Assembly's Catechism are declared to be the faith (*i.e.* creed) of the church.

An interesting feature in the MS. is the abundance of marginal references to Scripture. It would seem that every act must be sanctioned by an express Biblical precept or precedent. There is often an amusing crudity in the application,

and, in common with most people in those days, Mr. Doughty and his fellowship never thought it possible that they might be mistaken.

It only remains to say that the MS. is printed *verbatim et literatim*, care being taken to preserve all the erratic spelling, the random use of capitals, and the grammatical solecisms, most of which are provincialisms. The sign is used to denote cancellations.

From some memoranda in Mr. Doughty's handwriting it appears that he was born at Hadeleigh, Suffolk, in February, 1661; and was living at Bishop's Stortford at least from 1683 to 1690.

The Church Book, 1692

(Figures in parentheses thus (5) indicate original pagination)

1692 the sixth month and 3^d day this church of Christ . . . in and about Soham was gathered by the ministry of George Doughty planted, constituted and bult [*sic*] and set down, at Burwell in cambridg-sheer with 16 members . . . 10 Brothers and six sisters, in the presence of elders and . . . Bretheren [viz Bury Cambridg and Rowell] of other churches.^a

approved by
proportion from
Act. 11. 22-26,
Gal. 2. 9

phi. 4. 6
psa. 66. 16
1 pet. 3. 15

the Matter of
a church
1 king. 6. 7
1 Cor. 1. 2 & 14. 33
Act. 9. 31
1 Pet. 2. 2-5
see Jer. 31. 6
& 50. 5
Isah 2. 2
Luk. 14. 28
Act. 9. 31

* in a later
hand

phi. 4. 6

the found-
ation
Mat. 16. 16-17
1 pet. 3. 15
lam. 3. 41
with
Act. 14. 23
Jos. 14. 8
Deu. 29. 9-15
Gen. 17. 7

I. they had spoke their experences before . . each other (2) on days of solemn prayer Appointed for that purpose. ~~Here~~ here *faith in christ for salvation, & repentance from sin, & observance of God is confessed.*

2ly. being satisfied [*in the judgment of Rational charity*] in each others fitness for so weighty and solemn an undertaking, they Appointed 1692 . . . the 3^d day of August or the six Month for their embodying, in which meeting were the bretheren of other churches to be . . . encouragers Directors (3) and to help them with their prayers, & to be witnesses of their holy faith and order of the Gospel or christian church-state.

* Col. 2. 5, Act. 11. 22-26, 1 Tim. 6. 12, 2 Tim. 2. 2

I One . . . deputed to be their mouth began in prayer.

2 . . . asked them if satisfied to walk together as Bretheren and Sisters in the lord, which was testified by lifting up of hands.

3. then they prayed Again the work being uery Solemn work. (4)

4. The mouth asked them if they were willing to

418 Congregationalism in the Fen Country

Act. 2. 89
 1 Cor. 7. 14
 Rom. 11. 17
 Eph. 6. 4
 Ezek. 16. 21
 Psa. 115. 13,
 & 147. 14

the
 formal causes

Zech. 8. 23
 Psa. 119. 106
 Isah. 19. 18-21
 Act. 5. 13
 & 9. 26
 Col. 2. 2, 5
 Deu. 27. 26
 Exo. 19. 4-8
 & 20. 19
 & 24. 8-8
 Deu. 28. 18
 & 29. 10-11
 Jos. 24. 15
 2 Chr. 14 & 15 &
 29 & 34 *
 Ezra 10. 19
 Neh. 9. 88
 & 10. 29
 Isah 44. 45
 Jer. 50. 5
 Deu. 27. 26
 Ezra. 2. 62
 Neh. 7. 5, 64
 Psa. 87. 5
 Isah 4. 3

give them selves and children Added since to the lord
 & one another by the will of God 2 Cor. 8. 5 ; which
 was testified as before. lam. 3. 41 with Act. 14. 23.

here the Heads of the Couenant are Read.

1 as to . . . the Duties of A church-state.

2 priuiledges of it in case of obedience to the holy
 faith and order, Rules of the Gospel.

3 penalties or censures of it in case of sin, & Diso-
 bedience (5) which they promised a mutual obseruance
 of & submission to in the lord as he he [*sic*] should
 help them which was testified by lifting up of their
 hands. to this they said Amen to . . . and subscribed
 their names in a Register or church Book, *and the
 places where they lived. all that could writ set their
 names themselves, them that could not made their
 mark & another wrot their names by it.*

[* * *This is written in the margin.*]

the Bretheren

Robbard Moody	}	of Islam
Steuen Godfery		
thomas Scot	}	of Market ¹
Robbard Ossby		
Robbard Heart	}	of Burwel
thomas frog		
John Deakes	}	of langmedow ²
(6) Edward Deakes		
Richard chest	}	of reach
John Ripply		

Sisters

Elizabeth johnson	of langmedow
Eals Garner	of reach
Marget Cropplly	of Soham
Sarah Scales	of Soham
Caterin hills	of . . . Reach
Sarah Doughty	of Soham

then one of the witnesses . . gave them the right
 hand of fellowship, & the Mouth pronounced them in
 the name of Christ (7) a true independent church of
 Christ, to whom Christ had given power for all church
 Administration.

Mat. 16. 19

* This reference seems irrovalent.

¹ Newmarket.

² In the parish of Bottisham.

5 two were Added the same day viz
Sister Spinner of Market and Sister Simson . . .
[now Sister Brown of fordham.]

1 they spoke their experiences.

2 withdrew [a prudent custome in other cases.

Act. 4. 15.]

3 then the deputed brother asked the church if they were (8) Satisfied and Approved it, and if their lives . . . and conversation were now as became the . . . Gospel ; which being affirmed by the testimony of some of them that were best Acquainted with them, he spake to the church. You that are for the Admission of [&c.] into fellowship with this church testifie it with lifting up of your hands.

then he saith he [*sic*] I conclude (9) it is the judgment of the church that they should be admitted.

then they were called in, ¹ he said i give you notice that the church consent to your Admission.

2 he Asked them if they were willing to covenant with the lord and us his people . . . which being Affirmed [by yis.]

Here the Heads of it are read, in the precepts, promises and priviledges & penalties or censures instituted by the King [Christ Jesus] & founder (10) of this sacred corporation, Body politick, society, and community.

You promise in the presence of God, Angels, & men to submit in the lord to all these heads as he shall help you [yis.]

And, saith he, i promise in the name of Christ and . . . his church that we will perform our duties to you for your edification & comfort in the lord as becomes a church of Christ as he shall help us.

4 then he gave them the right hand of fellowship : he took (11) them by the right hand and said, Sister, you having given yourself to the lord and to us by the will of God, i in the name of Christ and with the consent of this church Admit you a Member of this church of the living God, and give you the right hand of fellowship, and the lord bless you in Zion.

5 then their names were put into the church Register or Book.

6 M^r. Daus preached from psa 132. 13, prayed, sung, and dismissed the Assembly. (12) they gave me a call to Minister the word to them, thus ended the day of our first embodying, Associating, & bulding [*sic*.]

Num. 33. 1 & with page 12 hereto.

Psa. 46. 10
& 68. 16
Mat. 16. 16-18
Rom. 10. 10
Isah 45. 24
& 44. 4, 5
se page 107

Act. 14. 23
it is in the greek
it was a sign by
which the de-
termining note
of the church
was signified

Gal. 2. 9

- 1692 15 day of the tenth month and fift day of the week
Susana Doughty was born at Soham in Cambridg-sheer,
and after Baptized by M^r Davis.
- 1692 9 month Robbard heart was Born and Baptized.
- (13) 1693 sixth month and about the sixth day Dannel Needs and
John kidd [of Burwell] and jaruis Sumner of Soham
and thomas Cob of Ditton and Sister turner of Burwell
was Added.

1693 eight month 29 Day our Brother Doughty was Added,
having testimony 1 by Messengers sent, that the church
to which he belonged had given him Discharge, and
liberty to joyn with another church 2ly by a letter of
Recommendation testimonial (14) as followeth :—

Act. 18. 27
Rom. 16. 1, 2
1 Cor. 16. 3
2 Cor. 8. 1-3
Col. 4. 10
. . . 3 Joh. 8. 9

this is to certify all persons whom it may concern,
that our beloved brother M^r George Doughty being
known by us for many years past has led a life as was
becoming the Gospel of Christ for the time he lived in
these parts. . . and we do belive that no person
whatsoever has aught to say against the same, (15) and
this we testifie by subscribing our hands this 18 of
October 1693.

John Etridge
Antony Nickholds
Zechariah Nickholds
Bretheren in fellowship.

and Rickhard Rallins

townsman and member of a neighbour church.

- 1693 Ninth month and about the Sixth Day Warin,
Chanplier, lee, palmer (of Burwell), Deakes (of Reach)
Benson (of Willbram) was Added 15 Day Elin and
William Spaldin, John hunt (of Reach), John Watson of
Burwel. (16) were Added.

— in this month we received a greeting letter from
Gylhorn [Guyhirne], who by their messengers gave us
the right hand of fellowship.

- 12 Month 8 Day Sarah Scales of Soham was cut off for
lying, braking couenant, and obstinate backsliding,
joyning with a fals worship, and standing up as God-
mother for a child.

Rev. 22 15
Luk. 9. 62
Gal . . . 5. 19
2 Thes. 3. 6

- 1694 (17) Second Month 25 Day. John and Edward Deakes and
his wife was excommunicated, all coming short of
morality, & their wickedness caused the name of Christ
to be evil spoken of.

1 Cor. 5. 11
1 Tim. 1. 20

1694

Act. 15. 23
D . . . 28. 26
2 Cor. 1. 2
phi. 4. 21
Act. 11. 22
26 & 14. 28

Sixth Month & 22 Day. Sister churches were greeted
to send their messengers to us on the fourth day of
October next, being the Day Appointed for my Ordina-
tion having been called to minister the word to them

1 Tim. 6. 12
2 Tim. 2. 2
1 Tim. 3. 10
Rom. 16. 10
1 Cor. 16. 3

1694

Act. 4. 15
Pro. 13. 16
& 11. 4

phil. 4. 6
Eph. 6. 19-20
1 Tim. 3. 10

on the day of their first enchurching (18) and having about two years proof of me.

Eight Month 4^b Day being come.

here persons Advice . . . and conclude in private how to proceed in publick.

1 Brother Ripply was Appointed Mouth that day for order's sake.

2 some time was spent in prayer.

3 the call was repeated and accepted.

here should have been Account how I was received and owned in their connection and embodying.

(19)

4 then . . . the mouth said you that are for choosing . . . Brother Doughty into pastoral office testifie it by lifting up of hands, which was done.

So Act. 1. 15, 23, 26, the church chose by Suffrage one Mathias into Judas Bishoprick . . . I & [sic] Apostolical office trust and charge. And Act. 6. 2-3, 5 the church chose seven Deacons, & Act. 14. 23 greek, and when they had ordained them Elders by Election in all the churches [or congregations] And had prayed with fasting they commended them to the lord on whom they believed.

(20)

here the mouth turns himself to the Elected and tell [sic] him he is to declare his Acceptance, 1 which he doth with all grauety and humility . . that which moved me to the work was Exo. 4. 15, Isah. 61. 1, Jer. 1. 6, Luk. 9. 62, Jos. 1. 8, &c.

2 Declare his judgment & faith.

3 here he is charged to perform the Duties of his office according to the Rule of Christs (21) service Book and ligtyrgy of his (?) testament only.

1 Tim. 6. 12
2 Tim. 2. 2

Col. 4. 17
1 Tim. 6. 13

4 he covenanted or promised so to do as Christ shall help him.

5 . . . the mouth in Christ's name and by the consent of the church pronounce and declare they own him as their Stated pastor Elder or Bishop, & promise to perform their duties & to submit to him in the lord as Christ shall help them.

Act. 20. 28
with
? 17

Tit. 1. 5-7
Isah. 62. 5
Heb. 13. 7, 17
1 Thes. 5. 12, 13
1 Cor. 11. 1

6 then the Messengers of of [sic] Bury church, [M^r Noble Brother offord], of Cambridg church [M^r Cragg & M^r Coolig] (22) prayed and exhorted both pastor and church to their particular Duties, and gave us . . . in the name of their churches the Right hand of fellowship with holy wishes as . . . Zech. 4. 6, & Act. 9. 31 & 20. 32.

And on the same day was brother ward of Maket [?Newmarket], brother fosit of Safham [?Swaffham

Prior], & old sister Ripply of Reach was Added to us. (23) And then . . . [Tho most unworthy] I entered upon my office in prayer & singing ps. 84 and dismissed the Assembly with a blessing.

So ended the Day of my ordination.

eight month & Seventh Day. Appointed that on the fift day of the week before the Lords day we brok bread we should always every month have a church meeting.

(24) 1694 tenth month thomas frog of langmidow was cast out for long violent (?) & impenitent withdrawing from Church Assemblies.

1694 eleventh month thomas heart was baptized.

1694 12 month 24 day Brother Hinsly of Exnon [Exning], sister howlit of Burwell & old sister Garner of Reach was Added.

(25) 1694. 12 month about the 20 day Robbard Watson was Baptized.

1695 1 month old sister Casbon (?) of burwell was Added.

1695 2 month, 21 day, John Robbins of Soham was Added.

About this time Richard Chest of Reach was Rejected & Excluded for publick and gross Drunkenness, being mad drunk.

1 Cor. 11, 13

1695 4 month and Sixth day Brother Trowel of Soham, brother (26) & sister Brown of Burwell and sister Watson of fordham was Added.

1695 4t month 7t day Mary trowel was born & on the 16 day was Baptized.

1695 4 month it was Acted at a church meeting that on the sixth day of the fourth month every year we should praise God for his mercy in increasing the church (27) And several things concerning the sister church And on the same day Sister Spinner of Market was dismissed to it.

1695 4 month 23 day Sister Millington of Moutin [? Moulton] and old sister Spalden of Gazly was Added.



in 1695 William Spalden, Caleb Woodos, and Marget Palmer was born & Baptized.

1695 5 month & 14 day.—Sister haward of Moutin brother bye of Cattligs^s & brother Shephard of Exnon was added.

(28) 1695 6 moneth brother Milison of Mouton & brother halock of cattlig was joyned.

1695 7t moneth 1 day John Petchy of Burwell was Added.

1695 7t moneth . . 12 day Brother Trowel was chosen Ruling Elder. & now it was . . . Acted that he that (29) objected against what was propounded in the church

^s Cattledge, otherwise Kirtling.

1 Cor. 11. 16 & 18
& 1. 10 & 12. 25
& 14. 33

2 Thes. 8. 6, 14
1695

meeting and not give Scripture Reason it should not be minded, and if obstinate he should be Admonished as a causer of Disunion & Schism.

1695

8 month

7^t moneth 15 day John kidd the elder and younger of Soham was Added. my daughter Elisabeth was born at Burwel the forth of the week & 23 day of the eight month & Baptized by my self.

(30) 1695

9^t moneth & 10 day brother and sister pamphilin was Added.

1695

. . 10^t moneth 1 day brother Burills was added & brother Chest Restored, *and again afterwards cut off.* & the 10 day Shadrach Warin was born & Baptized.

1695

11 moneth 3 day liberty for prophesie by Approved Members & when judged fit to send them out with the (31) presence of sister churches & our own Approbation & prayers. And that burwell and Soham should be equal in all days of worship.

1 Cor. 14. 3-37
Act. 18. 27

1696

1 moneth brother and sister Hariss . . was Added, and William Hariss was born y^e 26 day & Baptized the 31 day.

1696

2 moneth 23 day brother and sister Eaton of Soham was Added.

1696

& on the 30 day Anna Watson was Baptized.

1696

3^d moneth Elisabeth eaton was Baptized.

4^t moneth 17 Day. A solemn Renewal of our couenant, we . . make and writ a sure couenant this day.

Gen. 17. 1-10
was renewed
Exo. 19. 8 & 20. 19
& 24. 3-8
Ezek. 16. 8
& that in
Exo. 19. 8
was renewed
Deu. 29. 1-15
& . . . in Jos. 24. 15
2 Chr. 15 & 29 & 34
Ezra 10 (33)
Neh. 9. 1-38
with 10. 29
Se Deu. 6. 13,
& 10. 20
Examples
Heb. 10. 1-29
Isah 48. 1
2 Chr. 15 & 34
Psa. 119. 105
prophesies
Isah 45. 23 &
19. 18-21 & 65. 16

As the lord liveth I will faithfully and constantly discharge the duties of my office to you, and not leave you at any time without you consent, so help me o God for Christs sake. 2 Sam. 4. 3, Ruth 3. 13.

Of hands lifted up se Heb. 3. 6 psa. 141. 2 lam. 3. 41
1 Tim. 2. 8 See Rev. 10. 5 psa. 63. 4 & 119. 48 & . .
134. 2.

As the lord liveth wee will constantly walk together in Attendance upon the Ministry, & performance of our Duties to our present pastor [Brother Doughty] & walk . . . together in all the ordinances of our Exalted King Christ Jesus, & not leave his Ministry at any time [except on just & weighty occasion] (34) to attend on any other Ministry without his & the churches consent & leave.

Heb. 13. 1, 15, 25
Num. 2. 2, 17
1 Cor. 14. 23
(2) 5. 11
1 Chr. 28. 7
Tit. 8. 8

And when he is remoued by death we will abide walk & worship together in Christs institutions till we have chosen another pastor

So help us o God for Jesus Sake

Subscribed by


George Doughty, pastor

- (35) William fosit, Deacon
 Thomas Trowel, Ruling Elder
 William Pamplin | John Ripply
 brother Brown | brother Kidd the elder
 John Robbins | brother Burls
 brother Cobb | brother Shephard
 brother Militon | brother Eaton
 Sister Doughty my dear wife
 Sister Eaton | haworth
 Hariss | howlett
 Watson | Waren
 Militon | Ripply

- 1696 6 moneth 16 day
 Anna Miller of Safham & john Petchy was Baptized.
 (36) 1696 7t month 9 day Sister Riddly & Sister trowel was added.
 1696 10 month Sister Hills, Simson, Cannon, & Richard
 Robbins of Soham was Added, & Susanna trowel was
 Baptized.
 1696 12 Moneth 18 day Robbard Ready of Burwel was
 Added, (37) And it was Acted when the weather did not
 Heb. 10. 25 permit the church to come together at Burwell it should
 keep the lords day together & so they at Soham.
 1697 1 moneth 24 day Sister Palmer and Petchy of Burwell
 was Added.
 1697 28 day of this Moneth Sister Pirr & Sister Canphire of
 Burwell was Added.
 1697 2 moneth 15 day old Sister Elsdon of Burwel was Added.
 (38) 1697 4t Moneth 6 day Sister Simson of fordham was Added.
 1697 4 Moneth 10 day brother Carrow y^e younger Sister
 Casbon the younger of burwell & Caterin Spalden the
 younger of Gazly was Added.
 (39) 1697 6 m. 1 d. Elisabeth Watson was cut off for lying,
 Rom. 22. 15 theft, &c.
 1697 9 moneth 25 day Sister web, Smith, howlet, of burwell
 was Added, & David Ready was Baptized, & brother
 petchy left us to go to M^r Culy⁴ by consent after con-
 fessing his sin in withdrawing from & leauing church
 Ezra 10. 8 Assemblies for seueral lord's days.
 Heb. 10. 25
 (40) 1697 9t moneth old Sister Smith of Burwel was Added on
 the 28 day & Sarah Houlet was Baptized.
 1697 11t Moneth 28 day . . . Sister fouler, Watson of Burwell
 was Added; & on the sixth day of this moneth William
 Eaton was Baptized.
 1697 12t Moneth Brother Ward of Market had a letter sent
 him to Admonish him of his sin & duty & to

⁴ Mr. Culy was pastor of a church at Guyhirne.

- Isaah 28. 1
 reform (41) which he did not ; after long waiting, was cut off for gross drunkenness, &c.
- the 20 day of this Moneth Benjamin Shephard was Baptized.
- 1698 1 moneth 17 day Sister Shawe of Exnon & Harly of Burwel was Added, & Sister linsdill cut off for toal [*sic*] neglect of her duties, Strange Marriage, & Realing fals [*sic*].
- Gen. 6. 2 with 7. 1. &c.
 Neh. 13. 25
 2 Cor. 6. 14-15
 1 Cor. 7. 39
 (42) 1698 2 m. 16 day Sister olard . . . of Snalwell was added.
 1698 3d moneth 12 day old brother Edwards of Burwell was Added, & it was Acted if any Absented 3 times together from a church Meeting it should bring them under Admonition.
- Ezra 10. 8
 Heb. 10. 25
 Act. 20. 7
 1 Thes. 5. 11-14
 on the 4^t day brother Spalding two boys twinns was Baptized.
- (43) on the 5^t day of this Moneth Brother Militon's daughter was Baptized.
- 1698 3^d moneth & 16 day, Sister benson of Willbram was dismissed to the Church at Cambridg to which M^r Hussy is pastor.
- Ezek. 43. 11
 Rom. 16. 1, 2
 1698 4t M. 11 day John Hariss was Baptised at whom (? home) ; & on the 17 day of this Moneth Sister Staples & Bridg of Soham was Added.
- (44) 1698 5^t moneth 17 day thomas trowel was Baptized.
 1698 10 M. 2 day, Sister Euerit of Soham was Added & on the 16 day of the same Moneth Sister Coleman of Soham was Added ; & 23 day Sister Brook of Burwel was Added.
- 1698 12 M. 26 day John Simson of Soham was Baptized.
- (45) 1699 1 m. 26 day brother Smith of Burwel & Warren of *Structon (?) was Added.
 *Place not identified
~~1699~~ in 1699 Sister Simson's of fordham child was Baptized ; & Brother Warrens son was Baptized.
 & in this year the state of the church was sent to london.
 & in this year we kept thanksgiving days, & also fast days for the protestants in France.
- (46) 1699 2 M 16 day brother Ueele of . . . Stecher* & Pirr of Exnon & Sister Goodchild of Chauely was added.
 *not identified
 1699 3d M 7 day Sister Priss Brook of Burwl was Added.
 1699 4t M 11 day Sister Weebe (?) of Snalewel & *Neinford of Dittin was Added & on the 29 instance [*sic*] Sister Hills of Soham was excommunicated for Strange Marriage, . . . joyning with fals worship, . . . seperation from the church, & being impenitent in all.
- (47) 2 Thes. 3. 6-14
 Ezra 10. 8
 1699 7t moneth brother wriht of lidgate was added.
 1699 9 M 12 day Edward Smith was cast out for his sinful
 Jer. 23. 10

- neglect of church duties & blasphemous swearing.
- (48) 1 12 m . . . 11 day Ralph Eaton was Baptized & on the 26 Elisabeth Kidd was Baptized.
- 1700 2 m. Benjamin Watson was Baptized.
- 1700 3 m. 7 day. brother Smith of Cheuely & Sister Adams of Soham was Added; & on the 12 day Sister Gant of Snailwel was Added.
- 30 day Sister Tailer of Burwell was Added.
- (49) 4t. M. 3 day. Brother Shephards son was Baptized.
- 24 day Elisabeth Watson was baptized.
- 1700 5t M. 8 day, brother Chemp of Cheventon,⁵ Oynon, & Sister Oynon was Added. & on the 27 day the church received a letter from M^r Culy & that church; charged me with eight things in a funeral sermon which he heard me preach at Burwel for sister Howlet. the church in Answer doth find that in all (50) my time with them I delivered no fals Doctrin, & that all those 8 things as they expressed them they slandered me; yet if I had said them . . . expressly so they were in a sence all true, viz :—
-  All these they called dangerous Heresies Luk 13. 3
1. Spaking to sinners, I said that a believer, if he sinned with the sinner, without he Repent he would be Damned with the sinner.
- (51) 2. No acceptance with God without faith.
3. that none Are Accepted without union with Christ, & that uital union is not before & without faith.
4. that they are not in Christ before or without faith : this is true as to uital union & the habit of faith.
5. nor their sins pardoned without faith; i. e. Applycatorily received to our conscience's discharge.
- 6 nor saved before & without faith. Eph. 2. 8, Heb. 10. 39, Act. 16. 31.
- (52) 8 that persons must be seperated, conuerted, born again, before they can believe i.e. Actually.
- 1700 6t M. 8 day Ann Chemp was baptized at whom, at which time I preached a sermon there.
- 1700 8 M. 16 day John Ripply was Baptized.
- 1700 9 M. 14 day brother Paterson & sister Dolbee of Elly was Added.
- (53) 1700 12 M. 16 day Brother Smith was Restored.
- 1700 9t Month we received this Dismission.
- thomas Jennings pastor, with the Bretheren of the Church ouer which the holy Ghost hath made Mee Bishop or overseer to the church of Christ at Soham & the places Adjacent, to which M^r Doughty is pastor; grace mercy and peace be multiplied &c.

⁵ If Chevington is meant, that village is 9 miles from Soham and 12 from Burwell.

- (54) Dearly beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ ; wheras our Brother & Sister Pateson are in fellowship with us, but being so far Remote from us that they cannot walk in the order and fellowship of the Gospel with us, and we never heard anything of them that was not becoming the Gospel, desiring their dismission & Approoving their Reasons for the same, we do grant their request, & do hereby (55) discharge them from their near Relation . . with and obligation to us, and commit them to your particular watch, & care, desiring [yet not doubting . . . but you will] you to receive them in the Lord, and that you will be euery way helpfull to them, to the promoting their edification and comfort . . . [Accounting them Members . . . with us only till you actually receive them] for which Spiritual Ends we commend you with them to God & the word of his grace &c.

(56)

Subscribed by the consent and in the behalf of the Church of Christ at Barrington & therabouts by
 thomas Jenning pastor
 thomas Stokes, Richard Day
 Robbard baras, Deacons

Act. 20. 32
 Rom. 16. 1, 2

1700

10 Month 24 day Edward trowel was Baptized: the same day I preached his Mother's funeral sermon.

(57) 1701

Ro 2 Cor. 6. 15
 1 Cor 7. 39
 Psa. 45
 Deu 28. 6
 Pro. 12. 26
 Gen. 6. 2
 with 2 Kings
 8. 18, 2 Chr. 18. 1
 & 19. 2, Ezra 4. 1,
 & 9. 1, 2, 14,
 Neh. 18.
 1 Cor. 9. 5 with
 Phi. 3. 17 & 4. 9

1 Month 3d Day, it was noted (1) that persons truly Godly should endeavour to dispose of themselves & . . . Seed in Marriage to Religious persons.

(2) to worship the true God in a fals Manner was very sinful & the idolatry forbidden in the Second Commandment. 1 Cor. 10. 7, 1 Joh. 5. 21, Rev. 18. 4 & 14. 1, 12.

(3) therefore the Godly should not marry with such. 2 Chr. 18. 1, & 19. 2, 2 King 8. 18, Gen. 6. 2 . . . 2 Joh. 10, 11 . . . Gen. 2. 18, 20, 1 Cor. 7. 39, & 9. 5.

(58)

1701

1 Month & 6 day Sister Blinkensops was added. 14 day it was noted those that marryed with the . . . wicked should be admonished & kept from the lords table till they confessed their sin against the Rules in 1 Cor. 7. 39 & 9. 5, 2 Cor. 6. 15.

Mat. 5. 23, 24

(59)

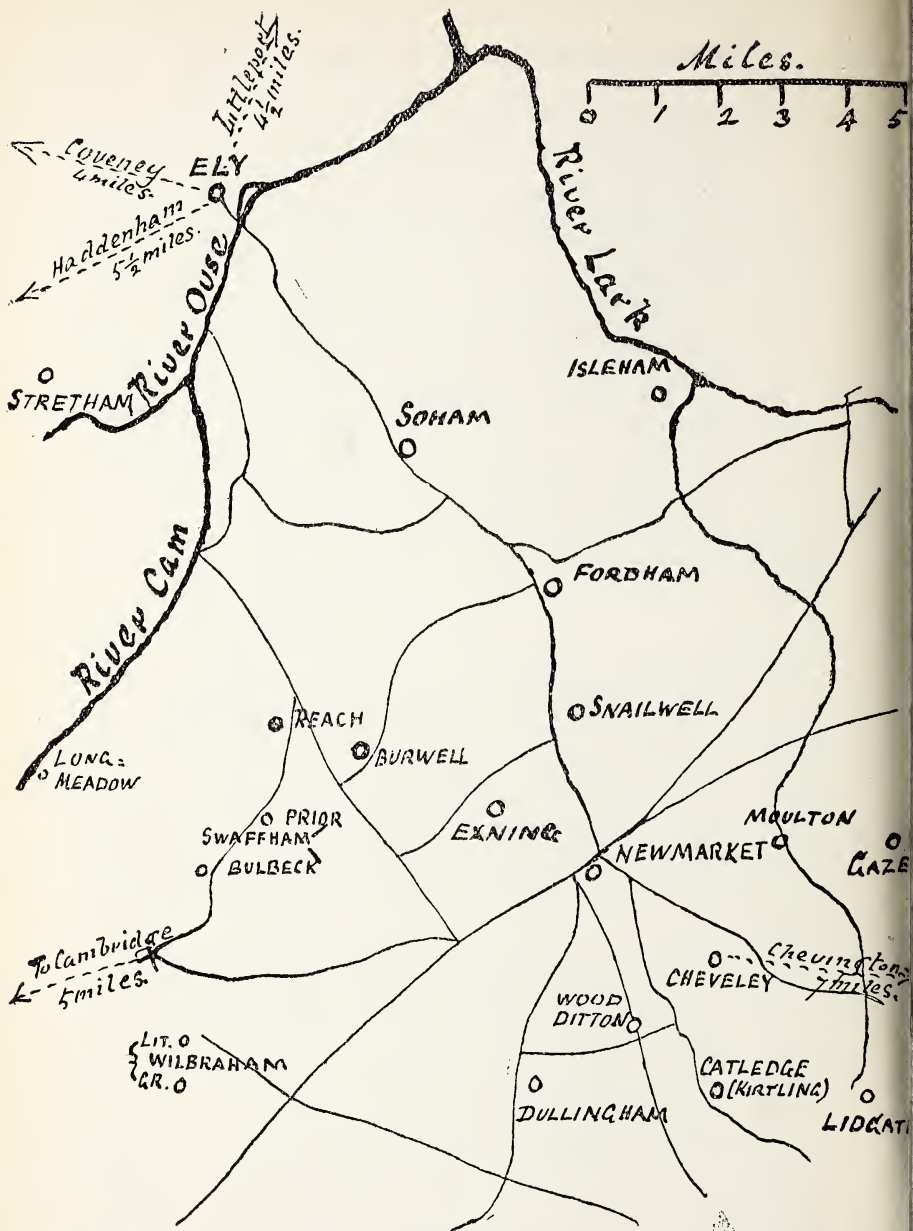
1701

About the 20 day Sarah Hariss was Baptized. 2 M & 8 day Elisabeth Warren was Baptized. & on the 10 day a letter | of M^r trowels | was read to the church to satisfy them that he had hopes of his . . . 3d wives grace, else he would not have had her &c. He promised perseuerance in the church & desires its prayers, & subscribed himself their brother in the nearest and best Relation thomas Trowel.

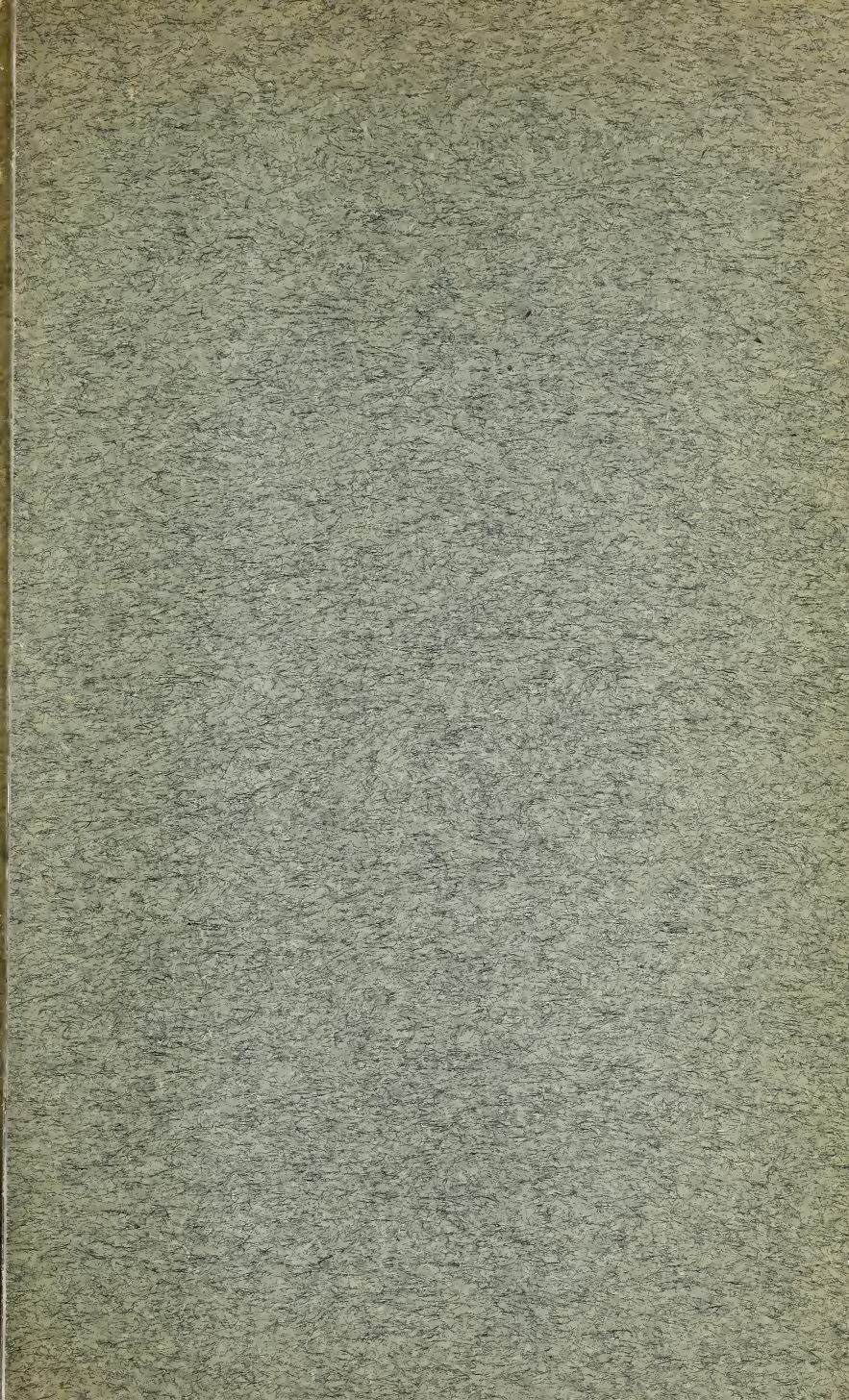
[interlined]

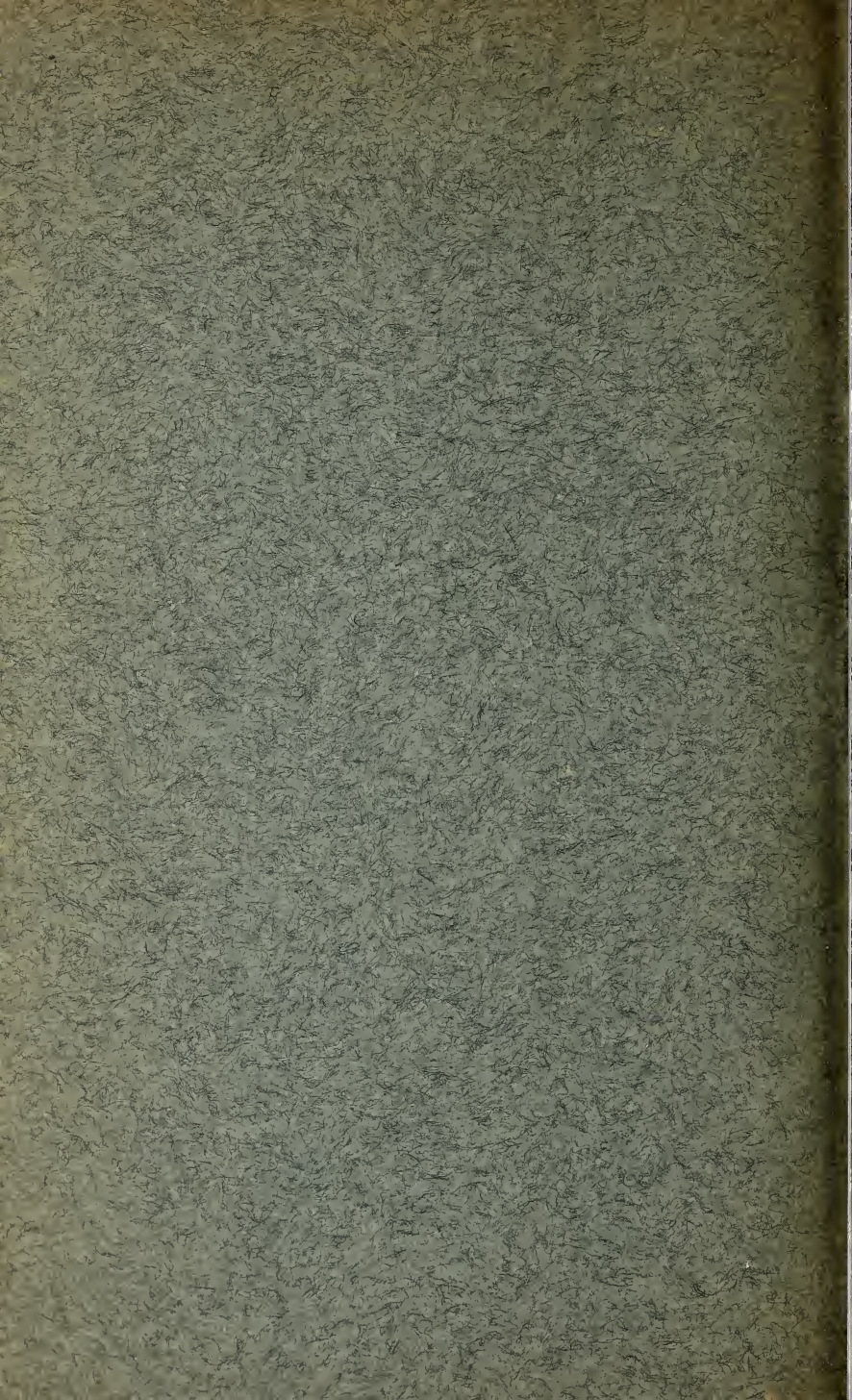
(60)

[To be continued]



Map to Illustrate Congregationalism in the Fen Country.





HECKMAN
BINDERY INC.



JAN 91

N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA 46962



